

In the British Museum
v. K. c. A.D.

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM THOMAS,
CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN
THE YEAR 1549.

Consisting of a very curious and circumstan-
cial Account of the Reign of King Henry
the Eight, in which the causes of the
Reformation are most particularly
and candidly exhibited.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Six Essays on questions of great moment to the
state, written by the same author at the com-
mand and for the private information
of King Edward the Sixth.

The whole literally transcribed from the va-
luable and original Manuscript, in the
Cotton Library; with notes:

By ABRAHAM D'AUBANT, Esq;

*Nemo sibi tantum errat, sed alii erroris causa et auctor est—
versatque nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error, alienisque
perimus exemplis. Sanabimur, si modo separemur a cætu.*

Seneca de vita beatæ, cap. I;

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly,

1774.

5

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM THOMAS
 CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
 THE YEAR 1549.

Containing of a very curious and circumstan-
 tial Account of the Reign of King Henry
 the Eighth in which the causes of the
 Reformation are most particularly
 and candidly explicated.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,



By the Order of the Council
 Printed by W. B. at the Sign of the
 Gun in St. Dunstons Church-yard
 in the Year 1724.

The whole is printed from the
 original and authentic Manuscripts
 in the Royal Library.

By ABRAM D. A. N. T. H.

Printed by W. B. at the Sign of the
 Gun in St. Dunstons Church-yard
 in the Year 1724.

L O N D O N.

Printed by W. B. at the Sign of the
 Gun in St. Dunstons Church-yard
 in the Year 1724.

1774

THE
 I
 mits
 crim
 nefas
 secu
 ble
 fy e
 fire,
 man
 appr
 to
 vices
 pent
 socie
 ed t
 a p
 epe

P R E F A C E

Of the EDITOR.

IT is an indelible reproach to the Romish Religion, that it permits the practice of immorality and crime. The most abandoned and nefarious wretch may think himself secure of heaven, if he be a veritable roman catholic: He may gratify every unlawful and depraved desire, violate every tie divine and human; and when the hour of death approaches, he hath nothing more to do than utterly disclaim those vices he no longer can commit, repent of all the mischiefs he hath done society, and bequeath his ill acquired treasure to the church; for then a perfect absolution and remission of

a

his

ii P R E F A C E.

his sins is given, and he expires in the plenary assurance of enjoying future endless happiness. A religion so very favorable to vice, was easily received by men whose passions made them wish it might be true ; particularly in the dark ages of ignorance, when the mind unemployed by letters was totally in prey to sensuality. It was a true religion because it suffered them to live without restraint, and there was no superstition in it that surpassed belief, no inconsistency however glaring that could make itself perceptible. Its fallacy and ineptitude were unobserved ; and inventions purely human, when made incomprehensible, received the venerable name of mysteries ; and as such were not to be prophaned by rational investigation. In such times men under the influence of a designing priesthood, offered their prayers and fortunes with equal fervor and profusion, to the first Post or Pope

P R E F A C E. in

Pope they met. They could behold a mortal laboring like themselves beneath a load of miseries, without one single character of divinity; and yet implicitly believe he had a power of imparting an eternity of joy.

They could believe a man to be infallible, whose decisions were continually changing. They were clearly convinced, that all those crimes against which the supreme being had pronounced irrevocable doom; might be pardoned for a fee.

They could permit ambition veiled with the title of extreme humility, to trample on a prostrate monarch's neck, to tear the lawful honors from his brow; or give him to the shameful scourge. They thought it possible for a creature, to *make* the great creator: for a man unable to create the smallest particle of matter, to give being to that very power that made the vast stupendous universe. They could see ten thousand Eucha-

iv P R E F A C E.

rists coined at the baker's oven, and believe each to be the whole divinity. They could follow a procession, in which their supposed Almighty God, was led forth upon some public calamity; to implore his own mercy. They could approach with trembling steps and offer incense to a being, they supposed immutable; although they had already swallowed and digested it. An omnipresent God might according to their doctrine, be confined within a glass; and he that made the Sun, was to be conducted with a Lanthorn. In a word, there was no absurdity which pride and avarice, did not impose on imbecillity. The church had no sooner established its power, than it became tyrannical. Every instance of revenge and rapine was exhibited, under the pretence of asserting the honor of heaven; as if the all wise and powerfull God were not sufficient to avenge himself, in the manner

P R E F A C E. v

ner most suitable to the offences of mankind. Monarchs were deposed, nations streamed with blood, oppression, death and ruin were sett loose; according to the boundless will of unrelenting despotism.

The clergy now elated with their continual success, and lulled with a false security arising from the submission of the world; were guilty of every reprehensible stretch of power, that oppression could devise. Never considering, that the people who had received the doctrine of papal infallibility, not for its pretended truth but its convenience; might naturally reject it when it became a burthen to them. They did not speculate so far; but grown delirious with their fortune, abandoned solid virtue; for its shadow hypocrisy, and for vice.

They were conceited, vain, ungrateful, idle, mercenary, selfish, false, luxurious, lustful, proud, prevaricating

iv P R E F A C E.

cating and perfidious. A secret artfully extorted from the breast of unsuspecting candor; was turned into an instrument of desolation. The generous friend who could take priesthood to his heart; was recompensed for his beneficence, with the seduction of a wife or daughter. If he complained; he perished at the stake. The misguided zealot, who deaf to the piteous remonstrances of his ruined family, devoted all his fortune to the church; now ripe for death; receives it in a poisoned sacrament.

His helpless aged mourning widow, might with tears and sighs, implore a small support from that cruel avarice which had wrought her ruin; but all in vain: The streams of her affliction, pour pleasure into his obdurate soul; while with a smile of joy and triumph at his successful villainy, gorged with a load of costly dainties, arrayed in precious robes of state; and lolling on the down of ease

ease beneath a shading canopy of gold; procured by her distress; he calmly preaches to her, the benefits of poverty, abstinence, humility; and maceration.

Hypocrisy dead to the sufferings of agonizing want, breathed words of sweetest charity: Trembling at disease; blamed fear of death: And newly risen from the bed of riot; commended chastity. Such were the enormities of the Romish priesthood; when this nation ever distinguished for the advancement of reason, began at length to see, the inconsistency and folly of the papal authority. A religion virtually condemned by the dissolute lives of its own ministers; might naturally fall into a general disbelief. It was now an observation of the people, that a priest could give no proof of his doctrine so valid, as his own conformance; because if he really were convinced, that a momentary plea-

sure constituted a crime, to be punished with eternal torment; it was (said they) impossible he should be so rash, as to enjoy it. These objections were answered, not with the temperate arguments of reason; but with the cruel sword and fire of persecution: Till stung with the sharpest injuries; this generous empire stood forth, to vindicate the rights of human nature; and headed by a Prince impatient of oppression, struck off at one vast blow, the galling chains of superstition, imposed by vanity and blasphemy. And thus Christianity, which before had been obscured behind the clouds of sophism and falshood, now reassumed its pristine lustre, of simplicity and truth.

The Reformation was an event of such magnitude, that it excited the wonder of all Europe; while it enflamed the rage of every miscreant impostor, that had been justly punished

ished by it. The prodigious number of Nuns and Friars, that had been stripped of their ill acquired wealth; and turned adrift into the world, to exercise that poverty in effect which they before had only professed: unmindful according to custom of sacred scripture, which enjoins respect for Kings; they laboured with all the activity inspired by revenge, to deprive the noble Henry of the affection of his subjects. Concealing the worst motives under the venerable pretence of sanctity; they strove to spread the seeds of discontent throughout the land; but when with all their art, deception and hypocrisy, they could no longer with success, deny the purity of the new established doctrine; they used their efforts to depress and blacken it, by an arraignment of its origin. They called it avarice, revenge and lust. The warmth of constitution, though directed by matrimony; a convivial disposition,

* P R E F A C E.

disposition, though indulged no farther than to unbend the mind, strained with the weight of government; a rigorous exertion of justice, tho' against rebellion and contumacy: in a word, every natural prudent and right action of this Prince; was branded by false zeal and sordid interest, with the nefarious marks of infamy and atrocity. But of all the pernicious libellers of Kings in those days, Pietro Aretino was the most formidable. This man, a native of Arezzo in Italy, was for his insolent invectives against crowned heads; called the * scourge of Princes, an appellation he boasts of in his letter to Herfilia, a relation of Pope Julius the second; where he hath these words. "My fame reaches the Indian and the Sophy, it extends over the whole world; and monarchs while adored by their subjects, stand in awe of me their slave and scourge."

It

* Il flagello de principi.

P R E F A C E, xi

It was the common opinion, that he was pensioned by several potentates, into a silence and forbearance of his satirical reprehension. † Our author therefore willing to do justice to the memory of his late Sovereign Henry, whom he had obeyed and loved while living; undertook his vindication, before the most dreadful foe to royalty then known: Rightly foreseeing that an overthrow of so gigantic a censurer, must necessarily involve the compleat destruction of all inferior slanders. In this intention he composed a work of some extent, in which he collects all the accusations that were laid against his Prince; and answers to them one by one, discovering the sources of every capital transaction, that occasioned

† We find in the manuscript diary of King Edward the Sixth, Cotton MSS Nero X, the following remark relative to our author William Thomas. Vid. "April 19, 1549 Sir John Mason taken into the Privy Council, and William Thomas made Clerk of the same."

or accompanied the Reformation : which he manifestly proves, to have been the result of reason. This valuable work, is one of those monuments of History, that chance and love of learning have preserved, from the destructive hand of age. It exists unmutilated in the original hand writing of its author ; and is carefully desposited in the † Cotton Library, whence it has been faithfully transcribed, and it is now for the first time offered to the public, as an authentic account of a most memorable and capital event ; to be substituted in the room of those vague conjectures inspired by vanity or party ; which have hitherto discoloured and confused it. That the narrative is founded in the strictest veracity will not be disputed ; when it is recollected that our author was engaging in the arduous task, of convincing a prejudiced, malevolent, and acute enemy ; in the presence (as it were) of

† Cotton MSS Vespasianus D XVIII.

of all the discarded monks, eager to grasp at the very shadow of a false assertion: To have founded his apology in falsehood, was therefore to have given it up for lost. As to the originality of the manuscript, it will be proved by comparing it with others of the same period known to be genuine, * The diction, orthography and character, can stand that test.

Besides

* Extracts from King Edward the Sixth's Diary written with his own hand. Vide Cotton MSS Nero X (Nero C. X) July 1551. 5^o regni.

Mons Le Marechal S Andrew supped with me, after supper saw a dowzein courses, and after came and made me ready.

20. the next morning he cam to me to mine arrayng, and saw my bedchaumber, and went a hunting with hundes, and saw me shotte, and saw al my garde shot together. He dined with me, herd me play on the lute, ride, came to me in my study, supped with me, and so departed to Richemond.

26. Mons le Marechal dined with me, after diner, saw the strenght of the english archers, After he had so done, at his departure i gave hym a dyamant from my synger worth by estimacion 150 li & both for paines, and also for my memory. Then he toke his leve.

January

Besides the defence of King Henry the Eight, we have six tracts written

January 22 1551. The Duke of Somerset had his hedde cut of upon towre hill betwene eight and nine o cloke in the morning.

S wiliam Pikeriug delivered as token to the L Eliza- beth a faire diamount.

April 2 1552. I fell sick of the miefels and the small pokkes.

Copy of a Letter under the Signet of Queen Jane dated 7th Sep^r. 25 year of Hen. 8. vide Harleian MSS No 283 fol 75.

By the Quene

Right trustie and welbeloved we grete you well, and whereas it hath pleased the goodnes of almightie god of his infynite mercie and grace to sende unto us at this tyme good speede in the Delyveraunce and bringing furthe of a prince to the great joye Reioyce and inward comforte of my lorde us and all his good and loving subiectes of this his realme ffor the whiche his inestimable benevolence soo shewed unto us, we have noo litle cause to give high thanks, laude and praising unto our faide maker like as we doo mooste lowly humbly and with all the inwarde desire of oure harté, And in as muche as we undoubtedly truste, that this oure good speede is to y^r great pleasure comforte and consolation, we therefore by thies oure lres advertise you thereof Desiring and hartely praying you to give w^t us unto almightie god high thanks glorie laude and praising, and to praye for the good helth prospitie and contynuell preservacion of the

ten by our author, on affairs of moment to the Realm during the succeeding reign of Edward; they are composed in a masterly manner, and one of them is particularly worthy attention, inasmuch as it displays the state of this empire when it was pressed on all sides with imminent dangers; pointing out with great sagacity, the most salutary means of preservation. There is another of his essays, of less importance with respect to its subject; but of great consequence in regard to the character of King Edward, which it sets forth in a point of view, very different from that in which it hath been placed by our Historians. The writing alluded to most strongly implies, that our

the saide prince accordingly. given under our Signet
at my lordis manor of Grenewiche the vij Day of Sep-
temb^r in the xxv^t yere of my saide lordis Reigne.

Sealed on the back and directed

To oure Right traffic and
Welbeloved the lorde Cobham.

our author was secretly commanded by his sovereign, to deliberate and give his written opinion from time to time, upon various matters of importance to the state; and that these opinions after being privately transmitted to the King, were by him pronounced from the throne; as proceeding from his own investigation and judgment. The disclosure of this management accounts for that assertion, which our historians have successively repeated after Cardan respecting the Sixth Edward; who might indeed at first sight appear to him a *miracle of wisdom*.

A youth of fourteen, penetrating through the most abstruse perplexities of politics, and at one glance discovering the nicest distinctions amongst objects of an exceeding complicated nature; was doubtless an extraordinary phenomenon, to him who did not see behind the scene. However, the great benefits impart-

ed

ed to
wise
dear
and t
the e
down
it wil
ble a
sagac
and g
where
could
weigh
been k
an inf
denial
great
believ
in thi
our st
tions
tage o
our o
tions.
prove

ed to following generations by the wise conduct of this Prince; will endear his name to the latest posterity; and though he should be leveled from the exaggerated height of miracle, down to a more human stature; still it will be certain he had a remarkable and most respectable degree of sagacity, since he could thus adopt and give sanction to serviceable truth wheresoever he found it: Since he could by that means, give it all the weight it might have lost; had it been known to have proceeded from an inferior person. And it is an undeniable argument not only of a great mind, but of a good heart; to believe another wiser than ourselves, in things immediately belonging to our station; and to put his instructions into practice, for the advantage of mankind, in preference to our own less valuable determinations. The following work may prove an agreeable present to the

b

public,

xviii P R E F A C E.

public, as it elucidates that *Æra* in the British History; which hath so largely contributed to our national happiness and grandeur. The Divine will see that the purest religion, flowed from the purest source; The Historian will gain a true narrative of facts, hitherto confused; and the curious Antiquarian, while he discovers an ancient picture of his country with respect to the improvements of art; will also perceive the former state of the English language.

been known to have been
an important person. And it is an in-
debatable argument, not only of a
great mind, but of a good heart; to
believe another wiser than ourselves,
in things immediately belonging to
our nation; and to put his instruc-
tions into practice, for the advan-
tage of mankind, in preference to
our town, let which determin-
ation the following work may
prove an agreeable present to the
public.

A

A DEFENCE OF KING HENRY
THE VIIIth. AGAINST THE
SCLAUNDERS OF
TYRANNY, &c.

A

Caj

To

L

yield

vey

char

frui

plea

boo

one

unto

tura

cyal

(in

it) h

A D E F E N C E, &c.

*Castigans castigavit me dominus et morti non
tradidit me.* W. T.

To Mr. PETER ARETINE, the right na-
tural Poet.

LYKE as many tymes the wyld
woddes and barrayne mountaynes
yeld more delite unto the seldome tra-
veyled Citizen, then do the pleasant or-
chardes and gardens, whose bewtye and
fruite he dayly enioyeth: so hath it now
pleased me, rather to direct this my litle
booke unto thee whose vertue consisteth
onely in nature, without any arte; then
unto any other, whome I know both na-
turall verteous and learned withall, spe-
cycally because I understand that the Kinge
(in defence of whose honour I have made
it) hath remembred thee with an honorable

legacy by his testament, the which his enemies pretend proceded of the feare that he had, lest thou shouldest after his death, defame hym with thy wonted evil speache, but to lett them wete, that no man with right can sclaunder hym, and to open also unto thee, parte of his worthy and glorious doynges whereof if thou wylt thou must iustly speake unto his greate honour, I have in this litle worke brefely declared, the most parte of such sucoces as have happened in his life daies, togethers with the occasion that thereunto moved me, and have thought good to participate unto thee, to the entent, that if any person should repugne against it, thou with the mountaigne of thy naturall reasons shouldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defend it. In which doinge thou shalt partely satisfy it bothe unto the very truth, and also unto the good memorie that so noble a Kinge hath deserved of thee.

Farewell.

PERYGRINE

PE

He
And

C
and
wor
after
happ
noin
com
to be
posed
tome
dyver
estate
VIII

PEREGRYNE made by Wyllm
Thomas.

*He that dieth with honour lyveth for ever,
And the defamed dead recovereth never.*

CONSTRAYNED by misfortune to
abandon the place of my nativitie,
and to walke at the randon of the wyde
world in the moneth of Februarye, and
after the Church of England, 1546, it
happened me to arryve in the citie of Bo-
noine,* of the region of Italy, where, in
company of certayne gentylmen, knowen
to be an Englishman, I was earnestly ap-
posed† of the nature, qualitie, and cus-
tomes of my countrey, and especyally of
dyvers particular thinges touchyng the
estate of our Kynges Maiestye Henry the
VIIIth. who then newly was departed out

B 3

of

* Bologna.

† Put upon the subject.

of this present lyfe. And albeit that my grosse intelligence extended not to the sufficient satisfaction of those impertinent† questions that were there demaunded of me, yet to avoyde occasion of discourtesye towardes those curteous gentylmen who so curteously provoked me, and to learne of them some notable thinge worthy the knowlege (beyng as they were men of singuler reputacion and iudgement) I enterprised liberally to common† with them, and to say myne opinion touchyng the thinges in question, as farre forth as I know. The discourse whereof I have thought good to putt in writyng, not onely for private defence of that noble Prince whose honour hath been wrongefully touched, but also for the generall satisfaction of them whose cares may happen to be occupied with uniuft and false rumours; besechyng thee therefore (good reader) to accept the trueth of myne entent without offence in case thyne appetite sholde move thee to myslyke my report. For suerly if thou sett apparte affection,

and

† Bold.

† Commune.

and governe thee with the discourse of reason, thou shalt well perceyve that myne answeres procede more of mere simplicitie, then of pretended malyce in that parte specially that excuseth the stoned doynges of my foresayde Kynge, who in his lyfe tyme was muche more able in dede to iustifie hymselfe agaynst all the world, then I now after his death am able to defend hym with my penne. After supper on an evenyng fittying by the fyre in company of 7 or 8 gentylmen, in a riche marchant mans house in Bonoine, amonge other things, when they had reasoned of many matters, their whole talke fell on me by occasion of the Kynge, who then was newly departed this world. And there was it first asked me, of what circuit might the whole yle of England be? whereunto I answered, that after the description of Cosmographye, it dyd extend in compasse upon the poynte of 2000 Italian miles, but in this (sayd I) you must understand Scotland to be comprehended. And what may Scotland comprehend? sayd one of them. I thinke (sayd I) that Scotland may be somewhat better then as it were a

fourte parte of the island. And how is the countrey fertile? sayd he. I answered, that it was abundaunt of grayne and cattel, and to compare it to Italy, I shall tell you what difference there is: here in Italy groweth wyne, oyle, and dyvers sortes of frutes that growe not with us: as *melons*, *pepens*, *pomgranates*, *orenges*, *figges*, *rasens*,* and some other suche, because the cold ayre of oure countrey can not nourish them, beyng, as we arr, 6 degrees further from the sunne then you be; butt in stede of these your commodities: first, for wyne, we have greate abundaunce of barley, whereof oure ale and beere are made, which for oure common drynke agreeth better with oure nature, then the contynuall drynkyng of wyne shold do. And then for oyle, we have so muche swete butter, that though well we had abundaunce thereof as you have, yet thinke I there be few that in there meates wold use it as you do; fyne butter pleaseth oure appetites much

* In the ancient times of our author, it was not suspected that the fruits of every climate might be raised in any given spot: whoever had then foretold such an improvement in the art of cultivation, had probably been considered as a visionary.

much better than oyle. And in that you excede us in frutes, we excede you both in the abundaunce and also in the goodnes of flesh, foule and fysh, whereof the common people there no lesse fede, then your common people here of herbes and frutes. And agayne, for wynes, we have continually out of Fraunce, Spayne, Almaine,* and out of Candy, greate quantitie of the best that growe in those partes. And of oyle and other frutes that arr reherfed, the melons onely excepted. It is very true that we pay well for it, and that we have not so much plenty as ye have; nor (to say the trueth) we nede it not, for lyke as the subtile ayre of Italy doth not alow you to fede grossly, so the grosse ayre of England doth not alow us to fede subtyllye. Here the temperate heate requireth foode of light digestion, as frute, herbes, litle flesh and delicate diet; and there the temperate colde requireth foode of more substaunce, as abundaunce of flesh and fysh, with satisfeing the appetite. And thereof groweth the proverb, *Geve the Englyshman beoffe*

* Germany.

beoffe and mustarde. Yea, but what meaneth it (say they) that your nacion supporteth no straunger, as by dayly profe it is right well sene, when an outlandish man passeth by, you call hym herfon † dogg, knave, and other lyke names? This semeth unto us a very barbarous parte. I shall tell you why: (sayd I) In tymes past, our nacion hath practised as litle abroad in straunge countreyes as any nacion in the world; and the commodities of our countrey are so greate, that the ignoraunt persons seying the straungers resorte unto them for trafficque, and (as it is true) for a gayne, imagyned they came not to bye there commodities, but to robbe them, and that they which so used to trafficque, for lack of lyvynges in there owne countreyes, applied the marchandie of England as of necessitie. But at this day it is all otherwise; for lyke as your marchauntes do practise in England, so oure marchauntes do now trafficque abroad, and by travayle have attayned such knowledge of civilitie, that I warrant you those straungers that now repayre into England, are as well receyved

† Whoreson.

ceyved or sene, and as much made of as
 of any other region of all Europe, espe-
 cially in the Prince his courte, and a-
 monge the nobles, where surely hath ever-
 more bene sene all honour and curtesy.
 We beleve you, sayd they, but these com-
 modities that you speake of, what be
 they? Besyde the abundaunt meates, sayd
 I, there groweth in England greate quan-
 titie of woll, the fynest of all the world,
 whereof the kerseie and brode clothes of
 London be made, and all the fyne clothes
 which are called *panni di fiandra*, are also
 Englysh clothes, wrong named by occasion
 of the marte at Andwarpe in Flaunders,
 where most commonly these clothes are
 bought or solde. Then have we leather,
 whereof contynually goeth out of the
 realme a marvaylous quantitie, a good
 wytnesse of the greate abundaunce of cattel
 that the countrey doth nourish. We have
 also mines of leade, tynne, and in some
 places of sylver, but the sylver vaines do
 prove so slender, that in maner it quiteth
 not the miner's charge, so that it is left
 unsought for. But the leade and tynne
 prove so abundant, that there is conty-
 nually

nually bought and solde out of the realme
 greate quantities thereof. Then have we
 mynes of naturall coale. What meane you
 by naturall coale? (sayd they) Naturall
 coale (sayd I) is a certayne black sub-
 stance of the earth, congealed in veines
 as metals be, and serveth to none other
 purpose butt to burne onely, which in the
 burnyng yeldeth a much greater heate
 then doth the wodd coale, and after that
 here is burned, it consumeth not into
 ashes, butt resteth harde as a stone; so that
 because it serveth much better for the
 smythes occupacion then doth the other
 coale, there is yerely sold out of the
 realme a greate quantitie thereof in Duch-
 land, Flaunders and Fraunce. And an
 other notable commoditie we have, whe-
 ther the cause be of our industry, or in
 the goodnes of the wateres I cannot tell:
 the Flemmynges do bye much of oure
 beare, because it is better then theires, and
 pay almost as much for it as we do to the
 French men for there wyne. And fynally,
 diveres other commodities there be of
 smaller moment, to longe now to reherse.
 Yea (sayd one of them) that dronken
 beare

beare is it that fatneth the Flemmynges
 lyke hogges ; butt surely these your com-
 modities reherfed, are very notable, and I
 mervayle not though your yland be rich,
 or welthy (as it is reported) feying it hath
 fo many meanes to draw money unto it ;
 when, on the other fyde, that money that
 cometh in your handes, can never be had
 out agayne, for your Kynge hath kept the
 passages fo strayghtly, that no man could
 cary out of the realme, in ready money, a-
 bove X ducates, fo that it is no mervayle
 (fayde he) though he had mountaynes of
 gold, as they fayd he had. No (fayd an
 other of them) that law is finished. It is
 true, that whilest the English money was
 better then other money, no man (as you
 fay) could carie it away. Butt now that
 the fayd Kynge for his owne private gayne
 hath made it worffe then any other money,
 ech man may cary away fo muche as hym
 lyketh. Why (fayde I) can ye blame hym
 to take his advauntage, as all other Princes
 do? Se you not that all the gold and sylver
 is abased in all the new money that is made
 any where: I suppose he should have bene
 reputed a very fimple one, to have holden
 up

up his fyne money for a bayte, when other mens money decayed: And as touchyng the Princes gayne (how well* in common I cannot se, where any man thereby susteyneth losse) I thinke he did better to gaine so upon his owne money, then as other Princes do, to borow of their pryuate subiectes, and never pay. What (sayd that other unto me) you are earnest in your Kynges favour. Butt you confidre not that Cicero his eloquence sholde not suffice to defend hym of his tyranny, synce he hath bene knowen and noted over all, to be the greatest tyraunt that ever was in England. In this case (sayde I) you charge my patience, and the answere of so outrageous a reporte, requireth a more force then reason or writyng. Butt because the place alloweth me not to speake, (much lesse to fight) I therefore wyll forbear. Butt tell me, I pray you, have you ever bene in England? No (sayde he) butt in Picardye I have bene, and also in Flaunders, where by reporte I have knowen all the procedynges of England, and know them so well, that in every poynt I sholde be

• Although.

be w
and f
have
Butt
straun
this t
what
leive
men
in any
puted
contra
Maief
perate
entent
And
little p
the m
heary
trary,
Yf
the pr
immo
appeti
or wro
suall w
force

be well able to defend both wythe reason and force agaynst you, not onely that I have sayde, butt muche more if nede were. Butt because I am an Italian, and you a straunger, your bragge shall have place for this tyme—At the which wordes, somewhat troubled in my mynde, I sought leive to departe. Butt the other gentylmen present held me perforce, and wolde in any wyse hear the matter reasonably disputed, in so muche as havynge moved my contrary to alledge agaynst the Kynges Maiestie what he could say, they temperately perswaded me to answere, to the entent it might appere who had the wronge. And thus both parties quieted: After a litle pause, seamyng rather to have studied the matter, then to have conceyved it by hearyng say, This gentylman my contrary, thus began his argument—

Yf you (sayde he) wyll graunt me that the principall token of a tyraunt is the immoderate satisfaction of any unlawfull appetite, when the person, either by right or wronge, hath power to atchive his sensuall wyll, and that the person also who by force draweth unto hym that which of
right

right is not his, in the unlawfull usurpyng committeth expresse tyranny; then doute I not right well to iustifie my reporte with the advauntage. Youré Kynge his fyrst wyfe, I pray you, beyng the Emperoures aunte, dyd he not cast her of, after he had lyved in lawfull matrimony with her xviiij yeres? And to accomplish his wyll in the new mariage of his second wyfe, because Pope Clement wolde not consent to hym, dyd he not adnull the authoritie of the holy Romaine church, which so longe tyme hath bene honoured or obeyed of all Christian Princes? Thirdly, because the Cardinall of Rochester, and Thomas Moore, High Chauncelour of England, wold not allowe those his abhominable erroures, dyd he not cause them to be beheaded? Men whose famouse doctryne hath merited eternall memory. And when he had ryd them out of the world, who onely with learnyng or reason were able to resist his beastely appetite, dyd he not presume to take on hym the Papall title or authoritie, disposyng bishoprickes and benefices of the church as Christe's vicar in earth,

earth, lyke as it is manifest he dyd untill his diyng day? The poor S. Thomas, of Canterbury! alas, it sufficed hym not to spoyle and deuoure the greate riches of the shrine; whose treasure amounted to so many thousand crownes: but to be avenged of the dead corpes, dyd he not cause his bones openly to be burned? And consequently all the places where God by his sayntes vouchsafed to shew so many myracles, dyd he not cause them to be spoyled of their riches, iuueles,† or ornamentes, and after cleane destroyed, nor wold not so muche as suffre, in those few churches that remayned, the light to burne before the images of Godes most holy sayntes? The monasteries wherein God was continually served, dyd he not overthrowe them, and take all their riches and possessions unto his owne use, crucifieng and tormentyng the poor religious persons, even unto death, by whose goodes he became more puissant in gold then any Christian Prince? After the insurrection in the north, when he had pardoned the iust rebells agaynst hym, contrary unto

C

his

† Jewels.

his promise, dyd he not cause a number of the most noble of them, by diueres tormentes, to be putt to death? And not his first wyfe, butt iij or iiij mo, dyd he not chop, chaunge, or behead them, as his horse coveted new pasture, to satisfie the inordinate appetite of his lecherous wyll? Two of his wyves he hath caused to suffre death, and two remayne yett on lyve. Dyd he not persecute Cardinall Poole, whose vertue and learnyng semeth rare unto the world? And hath he not wrongefully murdered the Cardinall's mother, his brother, and so many other nobles, that it sholde all be to longe to reherse? He hath by force subdued the realme of Ireland, whereunto he hath neither right nor title; and wasted he hath no small parte of Scotland, with entent to subdue the whole with out cause or reason. Agaynst all conscience he hath moved warre unto Fraunce, and by force usurped the stronge towne of Bolloigne, which he kepeth unto this houre. His daughter the lady Mary, that he had by his first wyfe, beyng one of the fayrest, the most verruouse, and the gentlest creatures in all the world,

is

is now growen to the age of 32, or 33 yeres, and through his devilish obstinacy could never be married. And finally, to finish his cruel lyfe with bloudy raece, now a litle before his death, hath he not be-headed the old Duke of Norfolk with his sonne, for what cause no man can tell? So that I wote not what Nero, what Dionise or what Mahomet may be compared unto hym; in whom towards God rested no religion, nor towards man no kynde of compassion, whose sword enflamed by continuall heate of innocentes bloude, and whose botomles bely, could never be satiate through the throte of extreme avarice and rapine, whose inconstant mynde occupied with occasiones of continuall warres, permitted not his quiet neighbours to lyve in peace: and in conclusion whose unreasonable wyll had place allwayes and in all thinges agaynst all equitie and reason. O! if I could go about to declare at length the perticular enormities that I have herd reported agaynst hym, a parte whereof I have bresely recyted unto you, I should give occasion of trouble to a whole world: Butt synce that I have sayde is (I dout not) suf-

ficient to iustifie my purpose, I have thought
 it better with few wordes to lett you know
 how manyfest his tyranny was, then wyth
 longe circumstance to occupie your quiet
 myndes with the terrour of so muche cruel-
 tie as I could iustly alledge. Answer me
 now who wyll for I am tyred, not wyth
 talke, butt with the remembrance of so
 many mischiefes as this reasonyng repre-
 senteth to my conscience: and yett one
 thinge I have to say, your kynge beyng en-
 vyroned with the ocean sea, thought it im-
 possible that the fame of his wycked lyfe
 or doynge shold passe in to the fyrm land
 of other countreyes: and therefore the
 more hardely dyd enterpryse the fulfylling
 of his devillish desyres; but in that behalfe
 he was no lesse deceyved then blynded in
 his erroures; for not onely his generall pro-
 ceadynges, butt also every partycular or
 private parte thereof was better knowen in
 Italy then in his owne dominion, where
 for feare, no man durst either speake or
 wynke. And thus havynge finished his
 heavye and fervent talke, he gave me place
 of speach. Butt I who in the suddayne
 case was not so promptly prepared with
 distince

distincte answeres to satisfie the company, as he thus roundly had charged me, rested in manner* amused, partely because me femed the other gentylmen enclined to-wardes a certayne credit of his reporte, and partely also for feare of the place wherein I founde myself, for Bonoine (though well wyth wronge) is of the Popes Territory: and he that speaketh there against the Pope, encurreth no lesse daunger, then he that in England wolde offende the Kynge's Maiestie, in so muche that one of them perceyvyng me so oppressed with an inwarde passion, very curteously encouraged me to defende the cause which I had taken in hand, without respect or feare: So that after I had told hym how that without the Popes offence I coulde not make my reason good, which the presence of the place prohibited me, assured of them all in one voyce to speake at libertie what I wold without daunger or displeasure, † all ioyfully imagenyng the victorie in hand, thus began I to say.

Universally in all thinges do I fynde one singular and perfect rule which is this: that

C 3

the

* Perplexed.

† His Adversaries.

the outward apperaunce is alwayes preferred before the inward existence, and that most commonly the thinges do all otherwyse appeare to be, then as they are in dede. As for example: The fayre woman, (of hym that by love seketh to* reioyce her) is rather regarded for her outward bewtye, then for her inwarde vertue. And many tymes under the vayle of a smyllynge face, is covered the poyson of a cancred herte; Yea and when I had none other profe unto this my purpose, butt that all lyvyng men are knowen to beare more earnest love unto the presence of these vaine worldly riches, then to the bydd infinite vertue of the everlasting God their creator, I thinke the same § onely should suffice to declare how ignoraunt that mans common iudgement is, as longe, as it is occupied with the apperaunce of the thinge, and penetrateth not to the essenciall substance, as in this oure present matter you shall right well perceyve it hath happened. For that person that wyll onely regarde the argument that the gentylman here hath, with
the

* Marry.

§ Alone,

the p
he ha
ly tru
must
decca
tyran
feme
petit
on th
this
the i
what
shall
all a
as m
one
prov
that
shall
me,
of c
cion
shall
a cat
both
son,

the particular witnesse of these things that he hath reherfed (which in parte are surely true) and discurre no further, he I say must rest undoutedly perswaded, that the deceased Kynge was no lesse then a cruel tyrant, by reason that in all thinges it shold seme he folowed more his unlawfull appetite, then any reasonable vertue. Butt on the other syde, he that wyl passe through this outward discourse, and recurre unto the inwarde occasions, how, why and in what maner these thinges have succeded, shall clerely fynde the effecte to conteyne all another reason, then it semeth to do, as myne answeres unto hys appositions by one and one (I doubt not) shall sufficiently prove; nothinge mistrustying at all butt that they who covet the light of the trueth, shall receyve synguler pleasure in hearing me, wherefore I shall hertely desyre you of quiet audience, unto the full declaration of my purpose; and yett * or ever it shall become me to discent in so weightie a case, reason commaundeth me to know both the nature and devotion of the person, whom it behoveth me to answer, so

C 4

that

* Before.

that (quod I unto my contrary) I shall pray you not to disdayne to tell me what your profession, and what is your religion, as for your qualitie I nothinge doute butt that you are a gentylman, for so doth your porte and gesture sufficiently assure me. As for that sayd he, I wyll not make it straunge. My profession is to serue the warres, though well I lyve on my lands: And my religion is to beleve in the holy mother church, as my father and all myne auncestors have done. Verie well (sayde I) in the whole is evermore comprehended the parte: and therefore unto the particular, which as I can remember dependeth in 13 or 14 poyntes: I answere, that first as touchyng the devorce had betwene the Kynges maiestie and the lady Katherine, his first wyfe which was the Emperoures Aunte, it is to be considered, whether in that behalfe his highnes entent was to proceade lawfully or unlawfully, prively or apertly, or for a common welth, or his owne persones commoditie, in the triall of which iij distinctions the matter must appeare. And thus standeth the case. The Kynges maiestie deceased, in the tyme of his father Kyng
Henry

Henry the vijth had an elder brother, named Arthur, heyre apparent to the crowne of England, unto whom this lady Katherine was first married. Whether they coupled in natural knowlege or not, God knoweth, for unto me it appertayneth not to iudge. Butt * one they were of lawful age. Now Sir : This prince Arthur died before the father, and duryng the fathers lyfe the lady remayned a widow, butt incontinently as the father was deade, and the Kynge that now is departed come to the crowne, his maiestie became enamored in her, both for her rare bewtie, and also for the singular vertues which semed more to flourish in her then in any other lyvyng woman. Butt because the law of God in Christ permitteth not the brother to reioyce the brothers wyfe, as the especiall prooffe of Herode, whom when John Baptist therefore rebuked, doth well declare; his highnes as for extreme remedye unto his unlawfull case recurred into the Popes dispensacion, belevyng at that tyme (as many yett do beleve) the same to be of muche more effect than Godes commaundement : And so having

* Certainly.

yng with great sute and for extreme sommes of money at length obteyned superficiallic licence, he attempted the acte of matrimonye and quietly lyved (as you have sayde) with the lady Katherine xviii yeres, or there aboutes, havynge issue by her that gentyll lady Marye, whose bewtie and vertue, you have most worthely commended. Butt when the tyme came that God opened his Maiesties spyrites to consider his unlawfull acte, not trustyng yett all together unto the divine inspiracion of the spirit, how well divers of his prudent and learned counsaylers had perswaded hym playnely that the matter could not stand well: he nevertheles sent fyrst unto Rome to Clement the 7th for the resolution of his iudgement in that behalfe, praying hym if the matter appeared unlawfull before God to graunt hym not onely a divorce, butt also a licence to marye agayne, for divers good and christian respectes. Butt Clement smylyng in his harte at this swete occasion, and thinkyng of this riche Kynge to have such an other golden fleece as Jason conquered in Colchos: threw furth so weake a traynyng bayte that the great fishe swallowed

lowed his hooke and brake his lyne, for strayght way sent he the Cardinal Campa-
gio legate a latere into England, to deter-
mine this matter, who sitting there in
iudgement had suche courage of presump-
tion that he caused the Kynge as a private
person to appeare before hym, and the lady
Katherine both: and there was this mat-
ter so longe disputed, pro and contra, that
finally, not onely the civill and morall
lawes, butt also by the Popes selfe Canon
lawes the commaundement of God had
place, and the errour of the Popes dispen-
sacion was discovered, so that in conclu-
sion his maiestie was divorced from the said
lady Katherine, not unlawfully by extorte
power, eyther of the Kynge hymself, or
of any of his subiectes, but lawfully by
the trew examinacion of the veritie before
such a iudge as coveted rather to rule the
Kynge, then to obey hym: And it can-
not be sayd that he dyd it privilie, for all
the world was present, and the matter in
question more then xx monethes or ever it
toke effect, and then as for personall com-
moditie I thinke no man so ignoraunt butt
that he may consider how his maiestie might
alwayes

alwayes secretly have had at his pleasure,
 nombres of fayre women, England beyng
 as it is replenished with the fayrest crea-
 tures of the world. Butt he dyd it first of
 reverence to God, whose commaundements
 ech creature is bound to obey, and after
 the common welth of his realme, the in-
 habitants whereof are of all others most in-
 clynable to sedition upon every least occa-
 sion: So that in tyme to come, when so-
 ever any greate man shold have rebelled a-
 gaynst the Royall bloude, alledgyng the
 Kynges Chyldren in this case not to be
 borne in lawfull matrymony, it should have
 bene like enough to have moved mortall
 civile warre, as the semblable small occa-
 sions in tymes past have yelded manifest
 prooffe. Whereas now havynge had by the
 undoubted Quene Jane his lawfull wyfe, a
 most gracious sonne Edward, who lawfully
 hath receyved the Crowne, the whole realme
 must nedes persever in happy peace and
 ioye: And therefore me thinketh hym
 muche to blame that for so reasonable a
 doynge wold defame so circumspect a Prince.
 Now unto that you say that because Pope
 Clement wold not dispence with this se-
 conde

conde matrymonye, his Maiestie extirped out of England the papal authoritie, a thinge of most auncient and godly reverence as you take it. I answered that after the Kynge highnes had so appeared in person before the Cardinall Campegio, one of the princes of his realme named the duke of Suffolke (a greate wyse man and of more familiari- tie with the Kynge then any other person) asked his maiestie how this matter might come to passe, that a Prince in his owne Realme should so humble hym self before the fete of a vile straunge vitious prest (for Campegio there in England demeaned hym- self in very dede most carnally in huntynge of * whores, playing at dice or cardes, or huntynge such other Cardinall exercises) whereunto the Kynge answered *he could not tell, butt onely that it seemed unto hym, the spirituall men ought to iudge spirituall mat- ters: and yett as you say (sayde the Kynge) me semeth there should be somewhat in it. And I wold gladly undrestand why or how, were it not that I wold be lothe to appeare more curious than other Princes.* Why Syr sayde the duke your Maiestie may cause the matter

* Whores.

matter to be discusse secretly by your learned men, without any rumour at all. *Very well* (sayd the Kynge) *and so shall it be.* And thus inspired of God, called he divers of his trusty and greate doctoures unto hym, charging them distinctly to examine what law of God shold direct so carnall a man as Campegio, under the name of spirituall to iudge a Kynge in his owne Realme, according to whose commaundement those doctoures resortyng together into an appointed place, disputed this matter large et stricte, as the case required, and as the black by the white is knowen, so by conferryng the oppositions together, it appeared that the Evangelicall law varied muche from the canon lawes in this poynte: so that in effecte, because ij contraries cannot stand in uno subiecto, eodem casu et tempore, they were constrayned to recurre unto the Kinges Maiesties pleasure to know whether of these two lawes shold be preferred, who smylyng at the ignoraunce of so fond a question, answered *that the Gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others,* commaundyng them therefore to folow the same, without regarde either to the civil,
 canon

canon or what soever law. And here began the quicke. For these doctoures had no soner taken the gossell for their absolute rule, butt they founde the popish authoritie over the Kynges or Princes of the erth, to be usurped, for Peter himself, whose successeur the Pope presumeth to be, commaundeth all christians to obey and honour Kynges or Princes with feare and reverence, because the Kynges of the earth are ordeyned of God, and so sayth Paul, and so sayth Solomon; and so Christ himselfe by example, hath commaunded, when entryng into Capernaum, he humbled himself unto the payment of the Prince his custome: and if Peter, Paul, Solomon and Christ hym self (sayde they) have directed us to the obedience of Kynges in the tyme when there was no christian Kyng in the world, how much more now ought all christians to obey their Princes absolutely, when they the Kynges them selves are not onely membres of the selfe body of Christ, butt also ministeres of the christian justice: And what greater dishonour (sayde they) can a Kyng receyve, then in his owne realme to be made a subiecte, and to appere,

pere, not before an other vertuous Kynge,
 or Emperour, butt before a vile vitious
 beast, growen of the dunge hyll: And a-
 gayne what more can be done to a mur-
 therer, and a theefe, then to brynge hym
 to answere in iudgement? This (sayde they)
 proceded not of the divine law, butt ra-
 ther contrary, for as muche as the spiri-
 tuall office of the christian religion proce-
 deth alltogether by charitable counsaile.
 Of their iust and evangelicall conclusion,
 his highnes resolved of that he had to do
 with patience of his passed errour, licensed
 the sayde Cardinall Campegio to return in-
 to Rome, not so highly rewarded as the
 sayde Cardinall looked for, nor yett with
 such commission as Pope Clement thought
 should have mended hys hungrye purse, for
 the new lycence that he had prepared un-
 to the Kynges second mariage. For in-
 continently after Campegio his departure,
 the Kynge asseyled in conscience of his first
 divorced matrymonye both by the law of
 God, and also by the publique consent of
 the whole church of England and his Ba-
 ronye, and his commons, proceded unto
 his second matrymonye, without further
 bribe

bribe or sute unto the pope: So that Clement seyng his lyne broken, and the fish escaped with the hooke or Bayte, lyke a mad ragyng dog, vomited his fulminacions, and by consistoricall sentence, excommunicated both Kynge and country affyrmyng that the Kynge began to rebell agaynst the Romaine see, for none other butt because his holy fatherhed would not graunte hym the licence of the new mariage, and with this new * leesyng brought the Kynge in flaunder of the ignoraunt superstitious world: And here may you see how the world is blynded. Butt to lett you wete with how much reason he hath adnulled the Papal authoritie, I doute not but every humble hert doth know, that one infinite God is he, who governeth all, both heaven and earth; And that utterly, neither the name nor the glory of God be attributed to any creature. So that by consequence the Pope is no earthlie God, as the canon lawe witnesseth hym to be. And then how foolyshe a thinge it is to beleve, that he hath godes power by Christ! I shall reporte me unto you, when I have sayd my reason. The Pope alledgeth hym selfe to be Christes vi-

D

car,

* Falshood.

car, Peteres succellour, and by Peteres Keyes to louse and bynde in heaven earth or Hell. First for Christes vicar, it is manifest that in all the whole scripture there is not one worde mencioned how Christ ordeyned any vicar or substitute heare in earth, to be his broker or factor in matters of salvation or damnacion: But the expresse contrarye is found, that Christ hym self is onely the way, the veritie and the lyfe, without whom none can accesse unto the father: And agayne, none knoweth the father butt the sonne, and to whom the sonne vouchsafeth to reveale hym; nor none cometh to the sonne butt whom the father draweth. Moreover Christ sayth that he is the gate, by which all they that be saved must entre. And besyde hym there is none other fundacion, nor none other name of helth, sayeth Peter: And Paul cryeth out that Christ is onely iustificacion and onely mediator betwene God and man. And sayeth not betwene God and the Pope. So that it is impossible to prove by the holy scriptures, the Pope to be another mediator, to distribute the merites that Christ sayeth he wyll distribute hym self. For if Christ be perfect

fect God, and God everye where, then God in Christ doth contynually worke his perfection, that is to say salvation in the faithfull, and iudgement in the infidels, as the holy scriptures undoubtedly do affirme, without any nede of the Popes helpe in that behalfe. And if Christ were butt man onely, or unperfect as the Pope would have hym to be in this case, where he pretendeth to be his vicar or attorney, then our faith beyng vayne in Christ, *a fortiori* must be more vayne in the Pope. For one the Pope dispenseth not earthly thynges, neither treasure nor helthe of body, as his covetouse gatherynge of gold, and false infirmite of person proveth: And as for celestiall thinges (I speake of the soule) beyng a carnall man (though well he had the spyrit of prophecye) yett could he nought iudge thereof. Now unto that he presumeth of Peteres succession, it cannot be found in the holy scriptures that ever Peter came in Rome, butt dwelled in Antioch, preachyng there the worde of God all the dayes of his lyfe, so that the Bishop of Antioch shold of reason be rather Peteres suc-

cessour then the * B of Rome. And the Keyes that were geuen to Peter, appere not to be geuen to any successour, butt unto Peter onely, who had no lesse of the holy gost, then the Pope hath of the devil, and what effecte these Keyes have, it may well be sene, when we confidre oure owne miserable Synnes, which you beleve lieth in hym to bynde or louse. § If I never synne, how can he bynde me, and if I synne I bynde my self. If it please God by Christ to pardon me, what devil can anoye me? And if God wyll not forgive me, what creature can brynge me unto heauen? So that unlesse the Pope is greater^r then God, and can enforce Christ or God to make and marre as he wyll, you must nedes confesse the Popes authoritie, to be utterly vayne or superstitious. Butt (my deuty of reverence reserved towards religion) speaking by protestacion, I shall tell you merely how those Keyes came to Peter: Christ havynge bolted the gates of heauen, and barred the dore on the inwarde syde, bad Peter kepe those Keyes untill the daie of iudgment,

before

* Bishop.

§ This is a most powerful dilemma clearly proving the papal authority to be an imposture.

before which tyme he wold that none should corporally entre there by the gate, butt flee in spyrit over the walles. So that Peter all the dayes of his lyfe sought to lead the true Christians thither by lyvely faith, as his master taught hym, and not by openyng the gates: And therefore hid the Keyes in his habitacion in Antioch, where they lay many yeres unknowen. Att length in the tyme of Phoca the emperour of Constantinople a simple Prest found them, and marveylyng at the curious workmanship being as they were of divine operacion, to gratifie his lorde the Emperour wyth so ryche a thyng, went and presented them unto his Maiestie, who not knowyng how to use them, gave them afteward unto Pockiface (I would say * Boniface the thirde) by whom they were first brought unto the Romaine church. Butt in effecte this Boniface sekynge the Gates of heaven, fayled of his way, and by misfortune happened on the Gates of Hell, where unwyttyngly he putt those Keyes in use, and in very dede

D 3

at

* This Boniface was elected Pope in the year 607. He obtained an Imperial decree from Phocas by which the Church of Rome was declared chief, and himself universal Bishop. Hist. du Papisme par Heydeggeri.

at once opened them (*quia portæ inferi non prevalerunt adversus eum*) in such wyse that the devyle gott out, and by playne force, afre they had drawen Boniface in, kept the gate so wyde open, that all they who have folowed Boniface in the papistical belese, thynkyng to clymbe to heaven, are fallen there by the way. Finally to conclude of the popish authoritie, it was not onely founde that the Pope was a false prophet, a deceyver, and begyler of the humayne soules, butt also the selfe same Antechrist whom John painteth in so many figures of his apocalypse, for as muche as Antechrist can be none otherwyse expounded butt by Christ his contrary: And the Pope unto Christ is so contrary by Daniel, that the matter was to evydent. For where as Christ was humble, patient, chaste, poore, constaunt, and obedient, sekynge alwayes the fulfylling of his fatheres wyll, and not his owne. The Pope cleene contrary was proude, impatient, lecherous, riche, inconstaunt and disobedient, not sekynge the fulfylling of any parte of Godes wyll, butt his owne wyll onely, in dispite of the world. As for prose. Christ humbled hym

hym self to the washyng of his Apostles fete, patiently suffered the scribes and Pharises to contend with hym, chastly resisted the worldly possessiones of the deviles temptation in the desert, lyved poorely without any habitation of his owne, was constaunt in fulfylling the law for the synnes of his fatheres elected; and last of all obediently suffred death, offeryng hym self alone, crowned with thorne on the tre of the crosse, for the redempcion of all the nombre of true Christianes. And the Pope most arrogauntly maketh not the meane people, * butt the selfe Emperour to kyss his fete, impatiently can he abyde any man that wold speake agaynst his tyrany and abhominaciones, resisteth not, butt rather embraceth the unchast develish temptaciones, that is to wete, omnia regna mundi. lyveth most richly in his sumptuous imperiall palaces of his owne, hath no kynde of constancye in doying any good

D 4

. thinge

* The Emperour Frederic Barbarossa desiring to be reconciled with Pope Alexander the third, threw himself at his feet, when this Servus Servorum stamped his foot upon the Emperour's neck, saying, *thou shalt tread upon the aspe, and trample on the Lion and the Dragon.*

Hey deggeri.

thinge that Godes law commaundeth, butt hath so muche to do with the marchaundice of other menes synes, that he cannot se to reckon with his owne, for that litle constauncie that he hath, is onely in persecutyng of Christes faithfull, and finally is disobedient both unto God, and also unto nature, offeryng hym self crowned with so many crownes of gold, to the destruction of so many nombres of men, as dayly be slayne of all handes for his onely cause. And it was not onely proved that the Pope was this contrary to Christ in his doynges, butt also in his doctrine and ceremonies, from the first to the last, to longe nowe to reherse. Yea and that not this lyvyng pope alone; butt all they that are dead beyng comprehended undre that name specyally from the tyme of that Boniface the 3d forwardes. for though the Popes have bene diveres in outwarde customes, some lesse wycked then other, yett in the inwarde hipocrisy they have all folowed the Deles daunce.

Butt what nede I to saye so muche, synce I here say there is a tragedye entituled Free
 wyll,

wyll, which so well descrieth his coloures,
 that there nedeth no more doute of this mat-
 ter. As you saye (sayde my contrary) I
 have herd muche reasonyng of this trage-
 dy, Butt the learned men condemne it, and
 say that it hath neither forme nor fashion
 of a tragedye. And * wote ye why qd. I, ||
 because the tragedye condemneth the ab-
 hominations of these your learned men:
 and therefore now that they can fynde none
 answere to deface the trueth thereof, they
 only contend with the proportion: and
 these are the membres of your mother holy
 church. Why said he, what can ye say
 by our mother holy church? I say (qd. I)
 that she is an errant whore a fornicatrix,
 and adultress with the Princes of the erth,
 and an expresse enemye of the Father Sonne,
 and Holygost, and of the lawfull church,
 the espouse of Christ; for as Christ the
 sonne of God, in lawfull matrimonye, en-
 gendereth on his holy church by the +
 spanne of his bloude spred on the crosse, all
 the lawfull begotten chyl dren of saluacion
 in faithe and charitie: So the Pope, sonne
 of

* Know.

|| Said.

+ Effusion

of the Deuil (your God in erth) in fornicacion engendreth on your whorish mother church, all the Bastardes of perdition (that beleve remission of Synnes in hym) by ignorance or supersticion. At these wordes my sayde adversary, all swelling for anger, approached with his dagger to have smytten me: Butt the other Gentylnen present held hym, and in my quarell threatened hym, assuryng him they wold take my parte, when there shold happen me any nede: and so pacified hym sooner then me, who for the present remembred not where I was, for his sodayne fume gave occasion of many wordes and muche ado: and longe it was or ever my spirites were quieted. Finally my memory returned: and requied of these gentylnen to procede unto the rest of my purpose seyng them earnestly attentive to heare me, in maner of exclamacion, thus began I to say: O! firewill, where arte thou, O! patience, O! humilitie, O! discretion, in what have I offended you? And yett I *wyffe I little nede to marvayle, since common experience yeldeth me an approved answere: for when

I regarde

• Know.

I regarde the discourse of philosophy, all sayde and rekoned, I fynde the wyll of man in the bolome of his appetite; notwithstanding that the wise Philophers have ever coveted to place the wyll betwene reason and the appetite, indifferently inclynable to eather parte, at the mans free election. ○ Butt now to prove that the appetite agaynst reason draweth no lesse the wyll unto him then substance of the earth and water, agaynst the fyre and ayer draweth the body unto the hevy center, I wyll seke none other wyttnes butt this gentylmans owne suddane motion agaynst me; for you all can testifie, there was no man interrupted hym, whilest he sayde what he wold agaynst the honour of my soueraign lorde the Kynge deceased, of whom he hath used the extremest termes he could devyse. ○ And agayne I presumed not to defend hym, untill wyth one voyce you all had geven me the charge commission so to do: So that reason wold he should semblably have gene * me quiet audience, not to speake as an indifferent, but as his playne contrarye. † Butt when his appetite hanging

* Given.

† Professed Antagonist.

tyng heyye in the balaunce had drawen his
 wyll so low, that reason was cleane out of
 sight, then wrought his coler * the venime
 that he wold have vomited agaynst my te-
 nets. for this wyll I offer, that if I be
 proved a lyar, I am content not only to a-
 byde your sentence, but also that punish-
 ment that he hym self shall iudge me wor-
 thy: with which wordes I paused: So that
 they fearyng I wold say no more, beganne
 of new to assure me from hurte, and pray-
 ed me not to leave of so lightly, butt to re-
 turne to my enterprised matter. Well sayde
 I, to satisfie you, I would take on me a
 muche more labour then this: And there-
 fore folowyng my reason, as touchyng the
 B[†] of Rochester and Thomas Moore whom
 the Kynges maiestie caused to be behead-
 ed. If I should say they were not learned,
 I should repugne the veritie; butt in very
 dede, there learnyng was much more ground-
 ed on the Thomistical, Aristotically and
 Scholasticall philosophy, then in the gos-
 pel of Christ, as heareafter you shall per-
 ceive, for when the Kynges highnes was
 fully perswaded to understand the Popes
 usurped

* Choler. A. B. C. † Bishop.

usurped power, not by these my reherfed authorities, butt by more profes then a whole Byble would conteyne, and by the consent of the greatest learned mens opinions of all the universities of Christendome, as there be dyvers alyve in Paris, Pavia, Padua, Bologna, and els where can testifie, whose counsell his Maiestie examined or ever he would attempt the annulling and extyrpyng thereof: his highnes then I say, called his generall Parliament, with out which, he determined no greate matters. And the Parliament to lett you wete, is divided in two counsāyles, The one of the nobilitie and Prelates, and the other of the comons of the realme: that is to say ij of the wyfest men of every Citie, of every greate Borough, and of every Provynce of his dominions. Now amonge those Counsels the Popish matter was proponed, and there was Pro et Contra, held and kept more than a whole yere longe. For in the parliament the law permitteth all men with out daunger to speake, as well agaynst as with the Kynge: So that the old supersticion havng more authoritie in the obstacle hertes, then the present veritie,

wold

would not geve place to the Kynges purpose, untill by open preaching throughout the realme, the blynde people began so manifest to se, that many of them who before most earnestly favoured the Pope, became then his greatest enemyes : whereof there folowed a statute made by the same parliament, that no man upon payne of death shold call the Pope other then the byshop of Rome, nor in any wyse mayntayne his quarrell. And thus ceased the Popes revenue of Peter Pence, of Jubileis, of Indulgencies and, Pardons, of Dispensacions, and such other baggage as before tyme adwayled the Popes purpose better than an hundreth thousand Ducates a yere, out of England. You must now nevertheles understand, that though this acte passed so in the parliament, yett all the parties of the same consented not unto it ; for the iudgment in the parliament house cases is geven by divydyng all the persons, all that say yea on the one syde of the house, and all that say nay on the other syde : And the most nombre do alwayes attayne the sentence. And so to the purpose. The B. of Rochester and Moore amonge the rest held

held agaynst the regalyne parte, accordyng to their conscience (as I suppose :) for when they saw the contrary to have place, then hanged they downe the head and murmured agaynst the Kynge provokynge his displeasure, otherwyse then it became true subiectes to do. And his Maiestie thinking nevertheles, by reason and fayre meanes, wyth tyme to perswade them, supported there ignoraunce more than ix monthes. Butt when there predestinate mischiese wold not suffre his benignitie to over come their hardened hertes, * and that the Kynge att lengthe perceyved there invincible obstinacie (to have a begynnyng of operacion) for the Cardinals hatt was allready upon the way commyng toward the same B of Rochester, not onely as a worthy rewarde of his merite; butt also for a buckler under the which the Pope thought to handle his cruell sworde, his highnes I say, fearyng the example of his predecesour Kynge John, or ever they had arrayved, shaved the Bishops Crowne by the shoulders, to see afteward, where the Pope wold bestow his Cardinall hatt: and served Moore of the

* Hearts:

the same sauce, after he had kept them both 4 monthes in prison, and used all the meanes possible to dissuade them from their error. Here one of the gentylmen asked me what was that Kynge John that I had named? To whom I answered: It was one that beyng Kynge of England, more then 300 yeres agone sought that tyme to confounde the Popes usurped Authoritie, lyke as the last Kynge hath done: butt because his Bishops at that tyme had more power in his owne realme then he, after vij yeres excommunicacion, he was constrained to renounce his Royall Crowne in to the Popes handes, and remaynyng pryvate a certain space: at length came on his knees before the Popes legate to be assoyled, and there thankfully receyved his crowne agayne. Was he not trow you, well *entreated? That he was forsooth, and finally well rewarded, for an holy monke poysoned hym,† and so his miserable

• Treated.

† This atropcious method of betraying men out of life, seems to have been frequently practised by the romish clergy. We have an instance of it Anno 1308 in the unfortunate Emperor Henry I. who happening to
displease

ble reconcilment had a miserable end. And as for the Kynges usurping of the papal authoritie in dispensacion of the papal ecclesiasticall bishoprickes and benefices, I am sure it is not unknowen unto you, that every seculer lorde (as they call them) in most places of their dominions tyme out of mynde, have disposed and geven the private benefices to what priests it hath pleased them; by the authoritie of the name of patrones of these Benefices! So that the Kyng having tried the substaunce of the Popes Authoritie, with no lesse diligence then the Alchymists do the metall at the fyre; fyndyng hym self absolute patron of his private Christian Dominion, thought it meter, as Prince and Apostle, to attend hym self unto the makynge of the Bishops of the English Church; then to suffre one forrayne B by onely informacion of the greate * curriour, master money; and therefore enterprised to know both the person,

displease the *Holy See*, was poisoned in an Host administered by Bernard Politian a Dominican Monk, at the instigation of the vindictive Pope Clement Vth.

* Courier or Intelligencer.

son, and bishopricke, or ever he wold dispose the golden myter and sylver pastorall. Butt in the other thinges he hath nothinge folowed the papall dignitie: for whereas the Pope by his indulgencies and jubilies, draweth the person to ydolatry, to trust remission of Synnes in his † beastly authoritie, and by dispensacions encourageth men to committ periury, adultery, fornicacion, usury, murder and infinite other suche,* contrary to Gods commaundements: The Kyng hath not wylled to transforme hym selfe into the Idol of neither of these two cases, by promysying pardon of Synnes to them that beleve in, or by dispensying with the damnable doynges of the wycked; butt hath wished all men to be obedient unto the lawes of iustice, § knowlegying him self to

† Irrational.

* In 1471 Sixtus the IVth instituted the public Stews in which each woman paid a weekly tribute of a Julio to his pretended holiness. And Coruelius Agrippa in his vanity of Sciences says, that in those days the Prelates estimated their revenues thus: two Benefices, a Rectory at a thousand crowns, two Priories at five hundred, and nine whores.

§ Acknowledging.

to be lesse then a perfect man; and not more then a godly christ, as the Pope presumeth to be. The triall whereof is evydent, by the answere of Christ hym selfe unto the mother of the sonne of Zebede, when he sayde, it laye not in hym to graunt the syttyng in heaven on his right or lefte hand unto John or James, for they must sitt there whom God the father had ordey- ned thereunto. And the Pope remyttng both penâ et culpâ, taketh out of heaven and thrusteth into hell, and out of hell by the way of purgatory; carieth in to heaven who it pleaseth hym, placng this saint in the † Queer of Martires, and that other amongest the virgines, Confessors and holy fathers, Patriarches and false prophetts: as he list to canonise them. Of which canonisates oure S. Thomas of Canterbury is one; whose spoyled shryne and burned bones semeth so greate to offend youre conscience: and it is true I cannot denye, butt that the Kynges Maiestie founde a wonderfull treasure aboute the same, for in the space of more then 250 yeres I thinke there have bene few Kynges or Princes

E 2 christened,

† Choir.

christened, that dyd not either bryng or
 send some of their richest Jewels thether :
 And I reporte me unto you then, what the
 * recourse of the common people was, to
 se that Sepulchre; beyng so preciously a-
 dourned with Gold and Stone, that at mid-
 night you might in maner have descryveth
 all thinges as well as at noone day. Butt
 now to speake of this saints life or holynes
 in few wordes, I shall reherse unto you the
 effects of his story. † His father was an
 English marchaunt, butt his mother was a
 paynim I wote not of what parte of Bar-
 bary : and he the Sainte was brought up at
 Scoole, where he studied so longe, that at
 length he became well learned in the Ca-
 non lawes, and then growen unto mans
 yeres he was brought by frendship unto the
 Kynges Court, and made the Kynges Chap-
 layne. This Kynge was named Henry the
 ij and in proesse of tyme, began so to fa-
 vour this blessed S. Thomas for his courtly
 behaviour,

* Concourse.

† Lord Herbert in his life of Henry 8th relates this
 story, which he acknowledges to have taken from our
 author; whose MSS he had therefore met with.

behaviour, that by litle and litle he exalted hym from Chaplayne to Counfayler, from Counfeler to Bishop, and from Bishop to the highest dignitie nexte hym selfe; that is to say Chaunceler of England: fynally this Henry, began by good occasion to perceyve the errours of this malignaunt church that reigneth here styll amonge you, and lyke a good Christian Prince, wold gladly have reformed it first with the correction of the ministers abhominable lyfe, and after with the due consequent remedies. Butt this holy Sainte havynge for his parte the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, Metropolitayne of all the others; with as good as 50 Thousand ducates of yerely revenue; valiauntly resisted hym, and had that courage, that apparelled in Pontificalibus with the Miter and golden Crosse; in the Kynges presence, he accursed all them that in worde or dede wolde offend his holy mother church or any minister of the same, in so muche that the Kynge kyndled by his iust disdayne, banished hym out of his sight, and after remembryng how vilanously his unkynde slave in his owne realme sought of a Kynge to make a subiect, sent

of his offices to lay hand of hym. Butt this Sainte advised thereof by way of trayterous intelligence, escaped out of the realme, and fled unto Rome, where of the Pope he was worthely receiyed, quia multitud uniti stabunt. And hereupon the holy Romaine consistory Excommunicated the Kynge and all his partakers, and openly interdicted the realme of England; which interdiction had so much the more effect, by as much as the other Bishops that remained at home were of more Auctoritie then the Kynge, so that in terme of iiij yerres, there was no masse song, nor none other lyke *good* thinge sayd in their churches. Finally the Pope wrought so much with the most christian Kynge, and the most christian with the lesse christian, that the Saint was reconciled, The Priests licensed to consecrate, and the holy mother church in peace. Butt there was a triumph of ryingng of Bells I trow! Well Syr in conclusion this blessed Sainte Thomas could not thus be contented, butt after a certayne tyme his coler began to worke; that he ashamed not openly to use, I wote not what approbious wordes agaynst the Kynge; which

which on a day were referred to his grace as he satt at his meate. Yea (sayde the Kyng) *have I brought hym up of nought to dryve me out of my realme? If I were served of men as I am of Wemen, he should not thus contend with me in myne owne house.* These wordes were marked of them that wayted on the Table, in such wise that without more adoe, 7 of those gentylmen waiters confederated together, and streyght wayes toke their iourney to Canturbery; where taryng there tyme, on an Evenyng fyndyng this Byshop in the common Cloyster, after they had asked hym certayne questions, whereunto he most arrogantly made answere; they slew hym. And here began the holynes. For incontynently as these gentylmen were departed, the monkes of that monastery locked up the church doores, and perswaded the people that the bells fell on ryngyng by them selves. And here was crying of miracles miracles! so earnestly, that the devillish monkes to nourish the supersticion of this new martired saynt, havyng the place longe tyme sepe-
rate unto them selves, quia propter sanguinem suspenduntur sacra, corrupted the fresh

water of a well there by, with a certayne mixture that many tymes it appeared bloudy, which they perswaded should procede of myracle of the holy marterdome, and the water merueylously cured all manner of infirmities; in so much that the ignoraunt multitude came togethers of all handes, specyally after the false miracles were confermed by the Popes Canonisation, which folowed within few yeres after, as sone as the Romaye see had ratified this saintes glory in heaven. Yea, and more, these fayned miracles had such credit at length, that the poore Kynge hym selfe was perswaded to beleve them, and in effecte came in person to visett the holy place with greate repentaunce of his passed well doying, † and for satisfaction of his synnes gave

† Machiavel in his account of this transaction enters into a detail of the penance imposed on King Henry by Pope Alexander the third. The King was enjoined to assemble all the nobles of the realm, and in their presence to exculpate himself upon oath; he was also to send forthwith two hundred soldiers to Jerusalem armed at his own expence, and paid for a years service. And he was to raise as numerous an army as he could within three years and lead it into Palertine: He received

gave many greate and fayre possessions to the monasterye of the fore sayde religious : And thus finally was the holy Martir sanctified on all handes. Butt the Kynge's maiestie that now is dead fyndyng the maner of this saintes lyfe to agree evil with the proportion of a very sainte, and merveylyng at the vertue of the water that healed all infirmities, as the blynde worlde sayde, determined to see the substanciall profe of this thinge, in effect founde these miracles to be utterly false : for when the supersticion was taken away from the ignorant multitude, then ceased all the vertue of the water, which now remayneth playne water, as all other waters do ; So that the Kynge moved of necessitie, could no lesse do then deface the shryne that was an author of so muche ydolatry. Whether the doying thereof hath bene the undoing of the

ceived the Pope's command to annul all acts that had passed during his reign to the disadvantage of the ecclesiastical liberties : and to permit any of his subjects to appeal to Rome. All these things says Machiavel were consented to by Henry, and thus a great King submitted himself to such conditions as would in these days put a private man to the blush. *Sottomesi si a quel giudicio*

the canonised faint or not, I cannot tell.

Butt this is true, that his bones are spread
amongest

dicis un tanto Re, che hoggi un huomo privato si vergognanebbe a sottomerfi, Hist. Flor. Lib. 1.

* The case of this Archbishop is very remarkable. It is well known that he was no sooner deceased than the Romish Church with all convenient dispatch granted him a handsome estate in *Pope's Paradise*, to have and to hold in capite; together with the honorable Title of Saint. This was generously done, and he remained in quiet possession of the gift for several centuries: Vastly respected it seems by all his acquaintance, in those parts. Fortunate days! He was adored by sundry women and children, and many a candle smoked before his wooden ambassadors below. So far he went on swimmingly. It was St. Thomas here, and St. Thomas there! He was invoked in all languages. But now for a dismal revolution. The abovementioned church arose all of a sudden, and without saying by your leave or with your leave fairly turned him out of his habitation, and stripping him of his title *let him down the wind to prey on fortune*. It is very hard for a gentleman to be a saint for two or three hundred years, living in splendor all the while, and then to be driven one don't know where, and to be called Becket, plain Becket. What seems to confirm many people in the opinion of his non residence in *Pope's Paradise*, is, that he has been very sparing of his miracles of late, and the oldest man living cannot remember him to have performed one.

However

amongest the bones of so many dead men, that without some greate miracle they wyll not be found agayne. By my trouth (sayde one of the gentylmen) in this your Kynge dyd as I wold have done. What (qd myne adversary) do ye credit hym? Within a litle sayd that other for his tale is sensible; and I have knowen of the lyke false miracles here in Italye, proved before my face. No (qd. I) harken well unto me, in this myne answere agaynst miracles, and you shall heare thinges of another sorte. In tymes past England hath bene occupied with moe pilgrimages then Italye is now. For as you have here our lady in so many places, de Loretto, de Gratia. de Miracoli, l'Annuntiata di Florensa, San Roche, S. Antonio di Padua that presented godes body to an Assse, and so many others, as ye know:

However be this as it may the people of Bayeux in Normandy are of opinion he is as good a saint as ever, accordingly they still keep a glaz'd box of his *relics* on the grand altar of their Cathedral. This box is about the size of a common lanthorn, and may contain a pound of wax cast into different shapes of bones. These *Phoenixes* which have happily been preserv'd, entitle the priest, who collected them to a compliment, equal to that

know : Even so had we our lady of Walsingham, † of Penrife, of Islynton. S Thomas, S John of Sukston that coniured the deuill in to a * bote, and so many holy || Roodes, that it was a wonder, and here and there ranne all the world : Yea the Kynge hym selfe, tyll god opened his eyes was blynde, and obstinate as the rest : I meane in the tyme when he wrote agaynst Martine

that bestowed by Mr. Peachum on the industrious Nimming Ned ; than whom no body was allow'd to *save more out of the fire.*

† Walsingham in Norfolk is 112 miles distant from London. It was to this *our Lady*, that queen Katherine appointed a person by her will, to perform a pilgrimage after her decease ; for the repose of her soul. There is still a spring at Walsingham called Holy well, and near it stand the remains of a cross before which the Pilgrims used to kneel, while they made their invocation to the Virgin Mary ; who was to be render'd propitious, according to the number, or value of the pieces of money thrown by the suppliant into the well.

The Naides of this pure fountain may naturally be supposed to have fish'd a very comfortable living out of this *Holy-well.*

• Boot.

|| Crosses.

‡ Luther. And these Roodes, and these our ladyes, were all of an other sorte then these your sayntes be. For there were few of them butt that with ¶ ingines that were in them, could becken, either with their heades or handes, or move their eyes, or mannage some parte of their bodies, to the purpose that the freers and priests wold use them : And specially one Christ Italio-nate that with the heade answered yea and nay unto all demaundes. But amongst the rest one thinge I shall tell you especial-ly. In a certayne monasterye called Hayles, there was a greate offerying to the bloude of Christ, brought thether many yeres ago out of the holy land of Jerusalem, and this bloude had such vertue, that as long as the pilgrame were in deadly synne his fight wold

‡ The work alluded to was printed at London, in quarto by Richard Pinson, Anno 1521 with this title.

Affertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martyn Luther, edita ab invictissimo Angliae et Franciae rege, et de Hybernâ, ejus nominis octavo. That is to say

A defence of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther, composed by the most invincible King of England France, and Ireland, of his name the eight.

¶ Engines.

would not serve hym to regarde it ; Butt incontinently as he were in the state of grace, he shold playnely behold it. Se here the crafte of these soulequellers. It behoved ech person that came thether to se it, first to confesse hym self, and then payng a certayne somme unto the Common of that Monasterie to enter into a chappel, upon the Altar whereof, this bloude should be shewed hym. This meane while by a secret way behynde the Altar, came the Monke that had confessed hym, and presented upon the Altar a Pix * of Christall greate and thick as a § baule on the one syde, and thynne as a glasse on the other syde, in the which the bloude on the thynne syde was open and clere to the sight : and on the other syde impossible to be discerned. Now if this holy confessor thought by the confession that he had herd, that the qualitie of the partie confessed wolde yelde hym more money, then shewed he forth the thick syde of the pixe, through which the bloude was invisible ; so that the person seyng hym selfe remayne in deadely synne, must turne and returne unto his confesseure,

* Box or Phial.

§ Ball.

confessoure, tyll by payng for Masses and other suche Almes, he had purchased the sight of the thynne syde of the christall, and then was he safe in the favour of God, untill he fell in synne agayne. And what bloude trow you was this? These Monkes (for there were ij specially and secretly ap-
 poynted to this office) Every Saterdag kyl-
 led a ducke, and renewed therewith, this
 consecrated bloude, as they themselves con-
 fessed not onely in secrete butt also openly
 before an approved audience. And was
 this miracle thinke you alone, No No.
 Alas, if I should * traine you with the re-
 herfall of speciall Miracles, I could tell you
 of thousands as true as this, or rather bet-
 ter, For we had holy § Maydens, that ly-
 ved

* Lead you on.

§ Our author in this place seems to allude to Eliza-
 beth Barton the maid of Kent. This woman had been
 troubled with hysterical fits, during which she utter'd
 incoherent and maniacal expressions; whence the ig-
 norant were tempted to believe she was inspir'd. She
 was prevail'd on by two Priests to assume the character
 of a Prophetess, in which imposture she was favor'd by
 Fisher the Bishop of Rochester; who fix'd on her as an
 instrument in replacing Katherine on the throne. Being
 thus

ved not by Manna as the Jewes in the desert, butt by foode of impalpable spirites: and such as could tell all the secretes of God, and how all mens matters went in heaven, where unto this sure gallaunt Auricular confession was so diligent a minister, that it were a wonder to tell. And can you blame the Kynge, though he hanged, and burned those hypocriticall knaves and whores, that were authours of so much abhominacion and supersticion? And dyd he not as good servyce unto god in destroying the place of those imaginative

thus instructed and supported, she pretended to be recover'd of her infirmities by the help of the Virgin, took the veil, saw visions, heard divine choirs, and receiv'd from Mary Magdalen a Letter from heaven. She prophecied that if Henry shou'd proceed in the divorce and marry another wife, he wou'd in a month lose his crown, and die the death of a villain.

Her oracles began now to poison the minds of several unintelligent people, so that it became necessary to punish her pernicious temerity; accordingly she with Fisher and many of her accomplices were apprehended. In the course of her examination it appear'd that the Letter from *Heaven* was written by one Hankherst a priest at Canterbury, and that she was a vile prostitute, as well as a treasonable incendiary: She was executed at Tyburn.

ble Saintes, that drew the people unto there belefe and trust of these false miracles, as the good Ezechias Kynge of Juda dyd in destroying the Mosaicall Brasen Serpent and overthrowng the Images, and holowed wodds consecrated unto there ydols? Yea undoubtedly dyd he, for all the Myracles that the blynde people conceyve to procede by these images or by meanes of these represented Sayntes, are cleane repugnant to the Christian faith, and also unto Gods perfection. And the reason is this: God is onely divine and perfect, who by his divinitie of nought hath created all thinges, and in his perfection conteyneth and governeth all thinges, to that end that he inevitably hath determined: and every angel, every devyll, and every man is a creature, with out either deitie or perfection, synce every thing that hath begynnyng or end is imperfect: and where as god is present every where, and worketh all in all thinges, as S. Paule affirmeth: the creature contrary wyse is present onely to the place of his servyce, as the Angel in heaven, the Deuyll in hell, and the man in earth. Now to my purpose. If the Sayntes who are Crea-

F

tures

tures be in heaven, and want (as they do in dede) the perfection of Godes deitie, how is it possible, that absent from the erth, the sainte whome the erthly man imagineth for his advocate shold heare the mans prayer, though well he wold crye with a trumpettes voyce towards heaven. " Sancta Maria ora pro nobis ? And agayne. None knoweth mans thought butt God alone : neither Angel, Saint nor Deuyl; for the scriptures affirme God to be the onely searcher of the hartes. So that neither hearyng me, nor knowyng my hert, it is impossible how the Saintes shold be meane of my relese : And as it is proved before, the holy scriptures affirme Christ to be onely mediator betwene God and Man, prohibityng all faithfull people to seke other meane. For who recurreth to the Sainte cannot denye butt that he trusteth soner to speede that way, then by the mediate goyng to Christ, and so douteth of hym in whome onely he ought to trust ; for mayntenaunce of which there infidelitie, these Sophisticall Theologianes have made them a god of glasse ; wherein they imagen the Saynte to behold our necessities, appoyntyng ech one of them unto
a private

a private office lyke as first one Deuis, and after hym Thomas of Aquina hath placed the offices of Angels, this to the Cherubyns, and that to the fleyng Seraphimes, that other to the Dominaciones and so forth, after his owne phantastickall imaginacions contrary to the doctrine of Paule, who being ravished to the thirde heaven saw thinges not lawfull to be spoken, where as this blessed S. Thomas ravished in his owne conceyte above all the heavens, hath spoken of Celestial Spirites, thinges which he never herde nor saw. Butt the ignoraunt multitude that alwayes are more inclinable unto errour then unto the trueth, have tasted such a savour in these imaginacions, that because God commonly graunteth not them the thinges that they most desyre, they therefore have framed Godes that wyll do for them when they be prayed, beleuyng better to attayne there purposes, by many then by one: and hereof hath it followed, that when some person hath escaped any imminent perill, recovered helth from a † grevous sicknes, or cure of a fore

F 2

wounde,

† It is customary for a true catholic who has been cured of any disease, by the power of a Saint, to hang
up

wounde, passed some daungerous tempests of the Sea, or obteyned some victory in armes, or some riches or possessions: incontinently he hath yelded thanks therefore unto his familiar advocate in heaven, by whose meane he ymagyneth to have receyved such benefites, which otherwyse the mutable (as he beleveth) wold never have graunted hym, and therefore runneth to this or that image, with Candles, Torch-
es, Lampes, Incense, Bells, and a thousand other tricks, affirmyng this and that miracle, which in effect are none other, butt their false and ignoraunt ymaginacions: and as to the burnyng of lights before those Images, it is so foolish a thinge, that me-

up a waxen figure of the part affected on his altar. So that the efficacy of these Patrons is discoverable upon a mere inspection of their trophies. And here it must be remarked that the size, or elegant dres of a Saint, does not recommend him to the devotion of an enlightened romanist. These honourable trophies are the surest guides. I have seen a tall well dressed Saint with only one miserable pair of waxen breasts hung before him, while a little figure scarce a foot high and without breeches, has been almost lost in a wilderness of arms, legs, and other members.

semeth,

semeth, it meriteth rather to be laughed at, then to be spoken agaynst.

Butt this take I to be the reason that moveth them there unto, because the light of the Sunne suffiseth not to direct the eyes of those their blynde and * domme ydols by the day, therefore in the day tyme, do they serve them with enforced light, that should serve for the nyght. Or els they do it to blemish withall the brightnes of the Sunne, whose light perchaunce may be no lesse enemy unto there nature, then contrary to the sight of the night owle. For by right they agree so well in the darke, that tyll the Sunne, arisyng, they nede no light at all. This I speak of the formal Saintes, for that † difformed body which

F 3

of

* Dumb.

† The Host. There are two sorts of Hosts, differing only in magnitude, being of the same substance *dried paste*.

Before they have passed through the hands of the priest, it is common to buy them at the rate of twelve a penny, for closing a love letter or wrapping up an electuary; for which last purpose they are in great vogue amongst the apothecaries. The confectioners also
consume

of all other is supposed to have most lyfe, may in nowyse want light in the night, lest perchaunce he should happen to arise at some inconvenient houre. Butt what nede I thus to occupy myself with those foolish Sayntes and pilgrimes, since the thinge is now so manifest unto all them that have eyes

consume no contemptible quantity of these goods, putting them under their macaroons, which by this means are reckoned to eat remarkably crisp and short. But when the priest has said four words over them, they become vastly more valuable: As for the Host Major it being three inches in diameter and decorated with figures is naturally of more consequence, than a mere *petit bon dieu* of an inch over. Accordingly the first is exalted to the top of the grand altar, has a burning lamp for a constant companion, is incensed and prayed to three times a day, besides being every now and then regaled with a tune on the organ and serpent. This wafer divinity is locked up in the church o' nights, for fear thieves should run away with him *for the sake of his gold case*. He is led out in great pomp upon particular occasions up street and down street at the pleasure of a finger and thumb, being however well shut up in a glass vehicle for fear of damp which might relax his *nerves*, and ruin his habit of *body*.

As for the Host Minor, it cost no less than seven farthings; but then it is of a swallowable size, and that expence is never grudged by a nice palate,

eyes, that who is he all most that cannot with reason, besydes the Authorities of the scriptures confounde this ignoraunce? Wherefore I wyll now dispose me to speake of the monasteries which his Maiestie suppressed, to the entent that you may vnderstand, what was the iust occasion thereof. And thus when his highnes had found out the falshod of these Juglers, who led the people vnto this ydolatry of worshipyng of Sayntes, belevyng of miracles and goyng on Pilgrimage here and there, as vnto this houre you se it used here in Italy, beyng perswaded by the presumption of these speccyall thinges that I have reherfed, and of infinite others to longe now to be mencion-ed, that these abhominable freers were the very false prophets and ravenyng wolves, whome Christ prophecieth in the gospel shold come under the apparel of lambes, to deuoure the flock of true Christians, his Maiestie for the better discoveryng of those hypocrites, sent forth Commissioners into all the provinces of his realme, to examyne particularly the manor of livyng that those Ribaulders used. And here came the matter fully to light, for when the Commis-

fioners had taken upon them the charge of the examinacion, and began by one and one to examine those freers, Monkes and Nunnes, upon there othes sworne upon the Evangelists, there were discovered, hipocrises, murders, ydolatries, miracles, sodomies, adulteries, fornicacions, pryde, envye, and not seven; butt more than 700 thousand deadly * synnes. Alas! my harte maketh all my membres to tremble with another maner of fever then with the quarterne, when I remember the abhominacion, that there was tried out. O Lord God (speakyng under correction) what canst thou answer to the 5 Cities confounded with celestiall fyre, when they shall alledge before thee the iniquities of those religious, whom thou hast so longe supported?

* At the general visitation many convents were divided into factions, exercising the most barbarous cruelties on one another. They carried on an idolatrous traffic in imposing on the superstitious with images and relicts. In some houses the implements for coining were found. The majority of the nuns were pregnant, and a great number of Abbots and Monks were convicted of criminal correspondence with meretricious, and married women. Smollet in Henrico,

ported? Note well these few wordes (sayd I) and I shall tell you : in theire darke and sharpe prisiones, there were founde deade, so many of there brethren, that it was a wonder. Some crucified with more torments then ever were herd of, and some famished unto death, onely for breakyng of their superstitious silence, or some lyke trifle : and specyally in some Chyldren there was used a crueltie not to be spoken of with humayne tonge. There was of the Heremites, some one that under the colour of confession had used carnally with mo then two or three hundred gentylwomen, and women of reputacion, whose names enrolled by Commaundement, they shewed unto the Commissioners, in so much that some of the self same Commissioners founde of their owne wyves titled amonge the rest, with what conscience I report me unto you. There was workyng of wonders! The Freers and Nunnes were as hoore and theefe in the open Stewes, and there were Sayntes that made the barren wemen, brynge forth chyldren, unto whom there wanted no resorte from all partes of the Realme. Alas! what should, what should I saye,
when

when Ptolomye his discourse, Plinie his memorye, and Augustine his penne, ioyned in one man, should not suffice to make hym an apt authour of so detestable an historie, as this abhominacion requireth? Well, to my purpose: In conclusion upon the returne of these Commissioners, when the Kynge was fully enformed of the case, incontinently he called his parliament. Butt or ever the counsellors of the same could assemble together, here came that Abbot, and there came that Priour, now came that Abeffe, and than came that freer, from all parties of the Realme unto the Kynge offering their Monasteries in to his handes, besechyng hym to pardon them their synnes de pœnâ onely and not de culpâ: In so muche that his Maiestie accepted many of them, and pardoned them all except a few onely of the most notable || Ribaulds, whome for the others example, he caused to suffre death in dyvers wyse, as there horrible cases dyversly merited. And there upon folow- yng the sayd Parliament, in the which all these matters were not onely published, butt also confessed by the false religious persons,

|| Adulterers,

sons, brought openly in iudgement, it was concluded, both by the Barones, and also by the Commons of the sayde parliament, that these monasteries shold be extirped, and the goodes and revenue thereof disposed as the Kynge and his Counsell shold thinke it expedient. He made his learned doctoures to search out the grounde of these many sortes of Religion, who conferryng the same substantially with the gospel, founde it to be cleane contrary to the Christian religion, by many mo reasons then I can well remembre. Neverthelesse for your satisfaction, I shall here reherse one or two of them, to the entent you may the better taist, what wyckednes, what superstitions religion doth comprehend. First the religious do professe themselves to lyve muche more holyly then the seculer people do, and by as muche as they can well perswade the world, that they are no synners, butt rather iust and upright persons, by which reason they have wyped them selves cleane out of Christ's vocation, who sayth (Math. 9) he came not to call the iust persons butt the synners: And then the good workes that they pretended to do, are all outward
works,

works, as apparelyng them selves in religious habite, syngyng and roryng out in the * queres, sayng of there servyce in latine; with matines and masses and holy abstinence from fleshe this day and that morow, when they have fylled there belyes with good fish, fruite and wyne: and suche other are their holy outward operacions; where as Christ exhorteth us to beware that we worke not our iustice before men, butt secretly in gevyng of Almes, that the one hand know not of the other, in quiet and hertie prayers, in fastyng, in patience, and charitie, and so forth: of which inward vertues those religious are knowen to be utterly voyde. Further more the vowe that these religious make, and that they teache others to make, are cleane repugnant unto Christes doctryne, who teacheth his faithfull evermore humbly to submit them selves to the wyll of the father, as by the example of his prayer in the garden, the night before his death it is manifest: for when the flesh had prayed the father to delyver hym, from the present passion,

* Choirs.

fion, incontinently the spirite rebuked hym
 self, sayng, no father not as I wyll, butt
 as thou wilt. And yett these religious pro-
 mysyng unto God that which they are al-
 ready bounde to observe (that is to saye)
 Chastitie, Obedience and Povertie, which
 in effecte the infirmitie of the flesh aloweth
 no creature to performe, wyll not that God
 deale with them as he wyll, butt as they
 them selves wyll, who with there super-
 stitious workes, wyll enforce God to geve
 them, not onely health and welth in this
 world, butt also paradise in the other world,
 and by there example have taught the ig-
 noraunt multitude, not content themselves
 with the infirmities, adversities, povertie,
 persecutions and passions that God sendeth
 them in this world; butt with vowes of
 Images, of candles, of pilgrimage, of
 chaunge of apparel and suche other Bag-
 gage to enforce God by his Sayntes, and
 not by Christ, to geve them, helth, pro-
 speritie, riches and ioye, accordyng to their
 inconstaunt pleasure: And hereof hath fo-
 llowed the byldyng of Mōasteries, Sina-
 goges, Chappels, Chauntries, with burn-
 yng of lights, incense, syngyng of Masses
 and

and ringyng of Bells, when the blynde people have beleved with those worldly tryfles to gratifie the divine Maiestie. Butt what saith the prophett? What saith Steven, and what saith Paul? God say they, dwelleth not in temples made with handes, nor can receyve nothing, of any earthly matter. For what thinge have we here that he hath not created? And what awayleth it unto God our foolish sacrifices, as Davyd sayth? If thou lorde wolde have sacrifices, I wold offer them unto the; butt the incense pleaseth the not. The true sacrifice unto God therefore is, the humble, contrite and contented spirite, and not these Temples, Images, incense, flesh, fishe or fruite. And so muche founde those doctoures, to say agaynst those religious, that in conclusion they condemned them to be more infidels and enemyes unto God, then the ydolatrous Coffranes of the India, found out by the Portugalles. * Coffranes, sayde one of the Gentylnen, what be they I pray you? They be (sayd I) a certayne people that do worship the devil in Image, as you here do the Sayntes. And by what reason sayd he shold they worship the Devil? By such

* The people of Caffraria in Africa.

such a reason (sayd I) as I wyll make you to wonder. First they beleve one vertuous God to be the universall creatour of all thinges, who in his perfection must nedes be iust: And then by the onely law of nature, and by the malyce that reigneth in the flesh, they knowledge them selves in envye, and other suche to be contrary to that divine vertue, so that the iustice as they beleve can no lesse do then condemn them unto perpetuall damnacion, whereof the devil is minister: And so Imagynyng that who most devoutly serveth the Devill in this World of Reason must receyve of hym most favour, when he cometh unto hym in the other world: They therefore most diligently observe infinite their Ceremonies unto the Devil, with fastyng, Almes, and Prayer, in hope that their Present Penaunce shall be a Mitigacion of their Paynes to come. Tell me I pray you how lyke ye this? As I do all the rest sayde my Contrary, for in this Case you preferre them that serve the Devil, before the servaunt of God. No sayd, I, you mistake me, for your Monks Freers and Nunnes I say, serve not God but serve themselves,
proudly

proudly presumyng agaynst God, to be iust, holy, and righteous of themselves, where as the other poor ydolaters confessed God onely to be verteous and themselves to be Synners. And therefore wyll I so preferre them, that if they had Knowlege of Godes Mercy in Christ as we have, I feare me their Workes should prove much more Christian then oures do. Butt come we to an End with these our Religious. Finally these Doctours founde that Paul in his Epistles had reproved the Corinthians for dividing them selves after the Names of those Christian Preachers who had bene Ministers unto their conversion, because some one sayde: I am of Paul, and an other sayde I am of Apollo, I of Cepha, and I of Christ. What sayd Paul? was I crucified for you? is Christ divided amongst you? No sayde he, I have taught you to be One self thinge in Christ, without Division either of Name or of Doyng: so that in Conclusion these Orders of Fraunces, of Domineke, of Bennett, of Bryged, and of so many others now condemned by those Doctours as thinges cleane contrary unto the true Christian Religion, in which all the faithfull
in

in Christ bounde together with the Knott of Charitie in the belefe of cleane remission of Synnes, are regenerate to one selfe Order and Rule, without difference either of Name Habit or Colour, wherefore the Kynge beyng clerely perswaded of all handes that this unhappy, ydle, and devillish Generation was necessary to be rooted out of this World, proceded then to the destruction of those Synagoges, with the self same diligence Titus and Vespasianus used towards the destruction of Hierusalem: and dyd he not therein as he should do trow you? Yea sayd one of the Gentylnen, *if he had disposed these Things to the Use of the Poore and Nedefull, and not taken it to his owne private Comoditie.* Agaynst the Poore sayde I, I will not speake, butt this muche I wyll say that if the Substance had bene converted unto the Poore, the Poore should have become richer then the Princes and Nobles; for our religious in England were quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes, not in Spirit butt in Dede. I wote how your ffreers here in Italie observe their sworne Povertie: and yet this is well true, that his Majestie in

dyvers Provinces of the Realme, hath converted parte of those Monasteries towardes the bryngyng up of Orphanes and sustentacion of the Poore, though well that Parte be but a small quantitie in respect of the whole. And thus because I wyll not be tedious, havyng sayde ynough as me seemeth unto the poynt, I wyll now answer unto the Insurrection of the North, which was cause of the death of those Noblemen, that my contrary hath here spoken of. True it is that when the Commissioners who had the charge of inquisition in these few matters, had passed throughout the Realme here and there, where as their Commissions led them, these our holy spiritual Religious, who had been thryuen of the lay persons, with an other maner of Auricular Confession then the lently penitencial Sacrament requireth, suspecting the sequell of that that justly followed indeede, begun with sowyng of Sedicion here and there to corrupt the myndes of the ignorant and inconstaunt People, insomuch that a Coblar (marke the begynnyng) encouraged by the presumptuous audacitie of one private Monke in the citie of Lyncolne gathered

gathered unto hym certayne other Artificers and Villaines such as he was hym selfe, and in lesse than three days made hym an head of better than 3. Thousand Men, and under the Name of Captaine Cobler, began a great Rebellion, laying hands on dyvers of the Kynges Ministers, and puttyng some of them unto Death, with robbyng and spoylyng some others, as it semed them to make for their purpose, that had not the Gentylnmen bene, who by fayre meanes, by authoritie and by frendship pacified the ignorant fury, no doubt of it, there should have folowed such effusion of bloude, such robberies and flambe as an hundred Thousand flatteryng Freers, with their * Catologie Sermons could never have recompensed. Behold here the Perill of this nacion who for a Cobler and a knavish Freer, not knowing any cause why, and without either Money or Provision, wold thus sodenly dispose them selves to warre against their owne bloude? What trow ye wold they have done under a noble man upon some grounde with Men and Monie?

G 2

No

* Catologie is the legend of Sayntes lyves. *A note in the MSS.*

No No, I shall tell you more. If this Cobler had had the Knowlege how to governe these Men, when they had them together, to have gone forward towards some other prise, with in lesse then two Dayes more, he should have found better then 20 thousand Men to have folowed hym. But when they were together, they wist not what to do, and therefore the authoritie and wisdome of the Gentrymen, the Kynges ffrendes, without force or stripe so confounded them, that they fled every man to his home, with more diligence then they came forth, and so the matter quieted, and a few of the principals taken and hanged the nombre was pardoned without more ado. But see now what followed of this possibilitie. These oure religious men, perceyvyng right well what the Captayne Cobler wold have done, and not regardyng what became of hym in dede, disposed themselves anew, to prove their fortune, being assured that if the Kynges maiestye shold contynue, there was none other but wrack with them and therefore in the furthest parte of the North began a nother rebellion. The Captain whereof was named

Aske,

Aske, a man of meane degree, and this second rebellion was of an other sorte then the first. For in a few days they had made an army of 16 or 18 thousand men, whereof there were certayne noble persones, and many men of reputacion, specially of the Prelates of your mother church for whose whorish defense all this sedicion was moved: and this army came on iourney towards the harte of the realme, litle lesse then an hundred myles, untill by force of floude waters and not by resistance of men, they were stayed before Dongecastell in the countie of Yorke. And marke here the iudgementes and provydence of God. The Kynge was then at Wyndesore besyde London, making of men, and puttyng of order here and there for his defence, as the case required. Butt as his people came so slowly unto hym, his secrete superstitious enemies with in his realme were so many, and the fury and power of his new rayfed army so greate and sodayne, that he wyft not well whome to trust nor what to do, so that for extreme remedye, he sent his chiefe Councelloures unto Dongecastel to treat with the rebels, to heare what they

would demaunde, and to promise them what they would aske: which Counselleres used all diligence to arrive at the appointed place, where they treated with these adversaries according to their Commission, but had it not bene that the waters letted them of their passage so longe that their vittails and money were cleane consumed, those rebells for that tyme had geven small audience to any treatie. Finally the presence of those counselleres had so much authoritie amonge the Enemyes, that with reasones and fayre promises they were appeased, for when they came to reasonyng, in very dede they wist not well, what to demaunde except the preservacion of their holy mother Church, which their Prelates and Religious did evermore beate in to there heades. And so in effect, the Kynge at that tyme pardoned them all, as you have alledged. Now here cometh the matter that offendeth you. Diverse of those persons, as well nobles as others, when they were returned to their quiet houses, and saw playnely that the Kynge did constantly follow the reformation of the Abhominable Church, could not for all this be contented

contented to see the thinges passe agaynst
 their superstitious belefe, butt incontinent-
 ly renued their old practice to rebell agayne,
 and in one place there was gathered toge-
 ther 200 men : in an other place an hun-
 dreth, here fiftie, there twenty, and there
 ten, so that all the Countrey was in a new
 rumour. Butt the Garrisens of Men the
 Kynge had this meane while spred through
 these Countreyse, incontynently overcame
 those few Commocions, in such wyse that
 for feare ech man with drew hym to his
 House. And the matter after substantial-
 ly examined, the principals were taken and
 certayne of them hanged and beheaded,
 that is to say, the Captayne Aske, the
 Lorde Darcy a Baron, 4 or 5 Knyghts of
 accompte and viij or ix Gentylnen, besyde
 certayne religious Monkes, that were the
 ticlers of all this mischiefe, so that they
 that were put to death, suffered not for
 their first rebellion that they were pardon-
 ed for, but for there second commocion,
 wherein was founde a contynuaunce of their
 prepenfed malice, not so mucche (as I be-
 lieve) agaynst the Kynges person, as agaynst

the light of the veritie, which their super-
 stitious consciences could not allow : And
 how say you now, know you any Prince
 that wold have done lesse then this, in so
 important a case ? I cannot tell you sayde
 myne adversary, how well, here is mani-
 fest effucion of christian bloude. Alas
 quoth I, can that hardened hert of youre
 relent unto no reason ? Tell me I pray you
 but your opinion in this one question I
 shall aske you. When the body is burden-
 ed with an extreme fever, or other sicknes,
 through the corruption of superfluous
 bloude, the contynuance whereof should
 putt hym in daunger of hys lyfe, doth the
 physicien well by incision of the vaine, to
 draw away the bloude that is enemy of the
 mans helth, or were it better, by suffer-
 yng it to continue, he shold lett the man
 abyde in perill of destruction of the body ?
 O sayde my contrary what a question is this ?
 Why this sayd I you must nedes graunt me
 that better it was to draw bloude of a few
 persons who were the corruption of an hole
 realme, then to suffre the whole realme to
 perish. For if they might have had their
 wylls, the least thinge that could have fol-
 owed,

owed, must nedes have been the bloude
 shedding of a stricken civil battell. And
 when well they had overcome the Kynge,
 there could have folowed none other then
 perpetuall contention, undoyng of them-
 selves, and of their neyghboures, to bring
 their Countrey in pray unto straunge na-
 tions. But with yow there helpeth nei-
 ther reason nor argument, and therefore
 synce I se I cannot satisfie you, I will dis-
 pose myselfe to satisfie these Gentylnen as
 nere as I can. Now as touchyng the Kynge
 so many Wyves whome he chopped and
 chaunged at his pleasure (as you say) the
 truth is that he hath had a greate many
 wyves, and with some of them hath had
 as evil luck, as some other poore men, and
 I shall planely tell you from one to one,
 how the matters have passed. That gen-
 tyll and verteouse Lady Katherine his first
 wyfe, was divorced from hym as you have
 herd, because she had bene wyfe unto his
 eldest brother: and in effecte within two
 Yeres or there aboutes, after that the Kynge
 was newly married, whether it were by
 consumption of thought, or by course of
 nature, I cannot tell, she yelded her Spirit
 unto

unto God, leavyng none other fruite behynde her, but her daughter, that courteous Lady Mary; whome we have so oft mencioned. Now incontinently after that divorſe the Kynge married (as I have ſayde) the Lady Anne Bolene, whoſe liberall lyfe were to ſhamefull to reherſe. One ſhe was as wyſe a woman, endued with as many outward good qualities in playing on inſtrumentes ſyngyng and ſuch other courtly graces as few women were of her tyme, with ſuch a certayne outward profeſſion of gravitie as was to be mervayled at. But inward ſhe was all another dame then ſhe ſemed to be, for in ſatiſfying of her carnall appetite, ſhe fled not ſo much as the company of her own natural brother, beſydes the company of 3 or 4 others of the gallanteſt gentylmen that were nere about the Kyngeſ proper perſon. Who were all ſo familiarly drawen into her traine by her own develyſh deviſes, that it ſhould ſeme ſhe was alway well occupied. The buſye doying where of gave the Kynge great cauſe of ſuſpicion, ſo that ſyndyng by ſearch, the ymagined miſchefes to have effect, he was enforced to procede therein by way of open
juſtice,

iustice, where the matter was manifested unto the whole world and the sentence geuen agaynst them, in so much that both she and her brother with the other iiij Gentrymen, were beheaded. For adultery in a Kynge's Wyfe waieth no lesse then the wronge reigne of a Bastard Prince, which thynge for a common welth ought specially to be regarded: And besides this, it was layed unto her Charge, that she with some of the rest had conspired the Princes death, to avoyde the daunger of their wyckedness, which they perceyved could not longe be kept secret. And this second Wyfe lyved with the Kynge, aboute the terme of foure Yeres, havynge issue a daughter by hym named the Lady Elizabeth which is at this of the Age of xiiij. Yeres or thereaboutes, a very wittye and gentyll yonge Lady. Now when the fyrst Wife was deade and the seconde beheaded, then was the Kynge undoubtedly clere of all handes, and in that estate toke to wyfe the Lady Jane Seymer, one of the humblest and chastest maydens of the world, replete of all bewtie and wysdome, who livynge in perfect and lovyng matrimonye with his maiesty the term of
18 monthes

X
 18 monthes or thereabouts brought into the world that happy Prince Edward that now succedeth the father unto the crowne, in whose birth she died, a death, suerly so much lamented of all the Kynges subiectes, as few the lyke for a woman hath ever bene herth of. Butt to be brieft, after death the Kyng remayned a Wydower almost ij yerres, tyll at length upon agreement, he coupled with the sifter of the Cleues with whome he contynued half a yere, untill informacion was brought hym, that she the Lady Anne of Cleveys had bene trouth-plight before with the Duke of Lorreyne his sonne, and this report went sore to the Kynges hert, who loved the woman out of measure, for why? her personage, her bewtie and Gestures did no less merite. Butt when he understode how she was indeede another mans wyfe, what for her own conscience, what for the respect of the inconveniences in these cases myght follow unto his Succession, he called the parliament, where after longe reasonyng and prose, concluding that trueth and promys betwene man and woman is it that maketh the mariage, betwene man and wyfe,

wyfe, and not the Ceremonies of the Temple, his maiestie was here openly divorced from her. How be it for the synguler Love he bare unto her, he offered her libertye to remayne in England, at his honorable provision, or to returne to her countrey with worthy rewardes: So that the electing Englandes provision, was appoynted by his maiestie, unto 4 excellent fayre Palaces, with all kynde of commodities, and better than 20 thousand Crownes of yerely revenue, whereof she lyveth like a princes as she is. And thus separated from her, he married his 5th wyfe, named Katherine of the house of Norfolke a very bewtyfull Gentyll woman, and to the worldly Judgement, a very verteous and chaste creature, though in effect the contrary was found afterwards, for or ever she contynued two yeres the Kynges wyfe, it was tried that before her marriage, she contaminated her virginite, and afterwards committed, or at least sought meanes how to comitt Adultery, so that in conclusion, she and two other Gentyllmen with her, after condemnacion before the Justice, were therefore beheaded: And finally this his last wyfe lykewise named

Katherine

Katherine was married unto him a Wydow, after that she had bene wyfe to two noble Barons of the Realme, deceased: And it is thought that his Maiestie married more for the same proue of her constant vertue, then for any carnal desyre. For remembryng the dishonour that he had receyved, by the lightnes of his other two wyves beheded, he thought now good to fasten on an approved Dame, as he did indeede, for the Lady hath lyved 33 or 34 yeres without Spott of blame. How well she is right fayre and excellent proporcioned of body, beloved of all creatures, and curteous as may be, whose fortune hath had place, to see the death of that Husband, that had sene the death of so many wyves, and amongst all the happy successes that the sayd Kynge hath had in his lyfe, I reckon this one of the especiall, that after so many chaunges, his gloriouse chaunge, hath brought him to dye in the armes of so faithfull a Spouse. The discourse of these wyves said one of these Gentlemen is a wonderful Historye, but one thing maketh me to marvayle sayde he, that when those wyves had so offended the Kynge, he dyd
not

not rather rid them by some fayre meanes out of the way secretly, then so openly to manyfest his own dishonour unto the world. I shall tell you sayde I, why. In such thynges his maiestie had as upright a conscience as any lyvyng man: and I dare say would not have consented unto murder of one of them secretly, for all the good of the world. And agayne, he esteemed not the dishonour of the matter, synce the faute proccaded of the woman, who for the same suffred open punishment, so that he I accounted alwayes clere both before God and man. And thus hath he had 6 wyves, whereof two have dyed in there beds, two have suffred for Adultery, and two are yett on lyve as you say. But the one of them you must confidre was the iust wyfe before God of the Duke of Lorreyne his sonne, as I have sayde, and not unto the Kynge. So that he which will learne the trueth of matters, must covet to know as well the Contra as the Pro, or ever he can iudge well. For he that geveth credit unto the first information, without hearyng the aunswer, is most comonly deceyved. And so were you Master myne, sayd I to my contrary.

Good

Good faith said he I cannot tell what I shold say, for the reports that I have reherfed, I have herd them of credible persons, and of men of good intelligence, who perswaded me undoubtedly to beleve as I have sayde, and though I have now well herd your Answers: yett am I not fully perswaded, for me thinketh you have sett many thinges forth at the largest, whether they be true or not, God knoweth, for they passe my capacitie. At the largest quoth I? that is true, for I speak without respect. But here may you se what difference there is betwene knowing and hereyngsay. Because I know in dede, therefore am I sure of that I speake, and because you know none etherwyse butt by reporte therefore are you from your suertie come now to doubt of your trueth. Wherefore I pray God (if it be his wyll) so to open your harte, that ye be not amongst the nombres of them to whom God geueth eyes without sight, and eares without hearyng, to the end they shold not understand the remedy of his grace. As for that sayde he, lett God do with me as him pleaseth. Butt I promes you of one thing: I wold it had
cost

cost me 40 crownes on the condicion I had bene 20 Myles of here this night. And why sayd I? Because sayd he before this reasonyng, I was as constaunt a catholike man as any was on lyve: And now that I have herd these many Argumentes, I am brought into a labirinth, that I wote not which way to gett me out. A catholike man sayde I, nay God graunte you were not worse then a Jewe. For whereas the Jewe trusteth in his own good workes and ceremonies, and nevertheles beleveth in the true divine God alone, you not onely trusted in your good workes, as you call them and in the foolish ceremonies of your Stepmother-Church, butt also had made you an earthly God of the Pope, in whose pardone you trusted more then in Christes death. Butt this pleaseth me that you are come to your doute. For so behoveth it hym, that out of an errour wyl be perswaded to know the trueth: And therefore returning unto my matter, now wyll I answer unto the persecucion of Cardinal Pole, and unto the death of his mother and frendes, which in effect is nothings so merveyulous, nor so cruel, as it is made here

H

in

in Italy, and so I doubt not you shall well confesse, by the tyme you have heard how the thinges have passed. I cannot deny butt that this Cardinal Pole in very dede is both verteous and learned, as you have commended hym, for by all mens report that know hym I have herd such laude and prayse of his continent, pacient and charitable lyfe, and of his greate and profound doctrine, and agaynst his person wyll I say nothings, butt agaynst his being, this wyll I say that it had bene better he had dyed in his cradel, then lyved to be occasion of so muche mischiese as hath folowed for his sake, and is yett lyke to folow. Beware sayde my contrary, speake no evil of hym, for here be of his frendes, that wyll not heare hym flandered. As for my parte sayd I, I am not his particuler foe. Butt now you must confidre that I now defend not onely a Kynges honour, butt also the quiet of a whole realme, agaynst such leude and false reportes as are sufficient to corrupt a world of good consciences, and to move sedicion betwene brother and brother, so that because the defence of this case enforceth me somewhat
to

to touch the quick, I shall pray you to pardon me, if I happen to offend you, assuring you I wyll for your sake forgett some thinges that shold be too whomely to be spoken. In the tyme that the Kynges maiestie extirped and adnulled the Byshop of Romes usurped power, as herebefore I have reherfed, this Rayneld Pole that now is cardinal, practised here in Italye sometyme study in the Univerfitie of Padoa, and sometyme in Venice, bearyng the porte of a Gentyلمان, as the nobilitie of his house required, and was from tyme to tyme well advertised out of England of all the occurrentes there, so that the law of the parliament agaynst the papists was right well knowen unto hym. Now Sir, beyng in Venice, the greate Contarene (who late dayes by the popes meanes was prisoned in Boleigne, for subscribyng the Article of iustificacion unto the Almaynes) before his vocation unto the Cardinalitie, fell in such a wonderfull amitie, and knott of frendship with this our Pole, that the one of them was never well without the other. And here began this mischiefe. For Contarene was no soner crowned with the read hatt,

butt that importunately he sued unto the Pope, to bring Pole unto the same degree, so that with much ado the Pope consented: And thus was our Pole placed in the * hole consistory, whether it were the earnestlove of Contarenes company that blynded him, or the obstinate supersticion of the papal dignitie that perswaded hym, or els the supersticion of the carnall glory that allured hym, or what other devil moved hym, I cannot tell. Butt one no man knew better then he, that the unityng of hym self unto the whorish church of Rome shold bryng hym and all his frendes out of the Kynges favour, out of the good wyll of his countrey, and in perpetuall excommunication of the church of England. And what trew man toward his prince or countrey (if he were not mad) wold then have entred into such a furye, seyng the example of the Byshop of Rochester and Moore, with the present estate of the realme before his face, unles he thought with the papal power to overcome the Kynge by puissaunce. Alas sufficed it not for a yonger brother as he is to have an honorable enterテインment

at

* Holy.

at home amongst his kynne and frendes, where his vertue and learnyng mought have done greate and hygh servyce, not onely unto his prynce and kynne, butt also to his whole natyve countrey? The contrary whereof hath bene the undoyng of hym self and of all his bloude. Of hym self said my contrary? that is not so: for he liveth as honorably, and in as good reputation as any other Cardinal whatsoever he be. And if he were an Emperour sayde I, beyng enemy to his countrey, as he is, I can reckon hym no better then most unhappy, for if the proverbe be true, that swete is the love of the countrey, by consequence the hate of the countrey must nedes be soure. Butt to my purpose. This our Pole had not the red hatt warme on his head, butt the Pope sent hym in post now to the French Kynge, now to the Emperour into Spayne, now in to Flaunders, now here, now there, to solícite the warres agaynst his owne naturall sovereign Lord and nacion, offeryng hym self alwayes to be a minister of that effect. And not contented with these outward provocacions, he also wrote secretly to his mother and eldest

brethren to worke sedicion at home, and some of his letters had so ignoraunt Ricapito, † that they came to the Kynges handes, who moved not only thereby butt also by many other presumpcions to examen the matter, at length found out the trueth, more by myracle, then by humayne discourse, for he havynge retayned the cardinales yonger brother nemed Sir Godfrey Pdoie, only upon mistrast with out any approved matter to lay unto his charge, he in the prison desperately wold have mischeved hym self, which by the diligence of his ready keper was defended * by hym. And so beyng strayghtly examined wherefore he wold have attempted so wycked an act, at last he confessed all the whole conspiracy, for the which his mother, his brother and those other nobles suffered, which also or ever the yere passed was by dyvers other ways discovered, in the profe of mo effects, then you wold beleve. For the holy and religeous Abbotts of Redyng and Glaftenbury had coniured the sayd Cardinalls elder brother, named Marques Mountague, and that Marques with the other Marques

† Direction.

* Prevented.

Marques of Exceter. And so farre was the matter gone from hand to hand that some of the Kynge's most familiar frendes, of his maiesties privie chaumber, and of his privie counsell were corrupted with this malicious poyson. Yea, and moreover it passed conspiracy to come to effect. For parte of these rebels to the nombre of 800 in the second insurrection of the North, were payed with money sent them by these Abbotes out of the south. How say you now? was it tyme, trow you for the Kynge to loke aboute hym? These be thinges sayde my contrary that I never herd of. No sayde I, there blow so many wyndes betwene the Alpes and the Ocean sea, that the true ayre of England can never arryve here in Italy uncorrupted. O sayd he, and well remembered. Tell me I pray you nexte unto the Kynge's children, ought not the crowne to come unto Cardynall Pole? And why to Cardynall Pole sayd I? because he is of the Kynge's bloude quoth he. It is true said I, he is descended of a Kynge's bloude, but it is so long ago, that he is further of from the Kynge then livyng Justinanes of Venice are from the ancient Emperour Justinian,

and as nere he is to the crowne, as they be to the Empyre. O Lorde sayde he, how this loyneth * with the fame of Italy! And this may you se sayde I, how ignoraunce and errour reyneth amongst the multitude. And were it not for your sakes, I could tell you how the Cardinall secretly professeth to be a protestant, and openly main-
 taineth the papacy, with a little more hypocrisy yet, then that cometh to. Butt I wyll for this tyme forgett hym, because of his next election unto the legacion of England, and wyll speke of Ireland and Scotland which you say the Kynge wrongefully †enferred. You must understand that the Kynges of England have had dominion over a greate parte of Ireland these 200 yeres past and more, by reason whereof both the countrey and nacion hath bene divided in two sundry partes, that is to say the English pale and the wyld Irish. And lyke as they of the English pale allwayes used the self same religion, customes, laws, and maner of civil livyng that we use in England: So contrary-wise they of the wyld Irish as unreasonable beasts lyved with-
 out

* Agrees.

† Seized.

out knowlege of God or good maners, in common of their goods, catell, women, children, and every other thinge in such wyse that almost there was few fathers that knew his sonne, nor no daughter that knew her father, nor yet any iustice executed for murder, robbery or any other lyke mischiefe. Butt the more force hath ever had the more reason. And hereof it folowed that because their salvage and ydle life, could not be satisfied with the onely fruite of the naturall unlaboured earth. Therefore continually they invaded the fertyl possessions of there irish neighbours that in habited the sayde english pale, reaping and mowing the corne that they sowed not, and carieng away the catell that they nourished not. And this beastly fury which so longe had reigned in this Irish nacion, hath many tymes moved the Kynges prediceffours with all their force, and with greate and puyssant armyes to seke their destructions. Butt lyke as one poore fox in a thickett, maketh the hunter with 20 couple of houndes to travayle some tymes a whole day, and at length to lose his labour: So these wyld Irish made these Kynges with their hudge
nombres

nombres of men, to beate so longe the wyld wodds and marishes, that at length they were fayne to * recule with the onely gayne of famyne and werynes: And therefore the Kynge's maiestie that now is deade, wrought an other wyle with them. for he layde such substanciall garrisons in the straight of his borders, that they could no more entre the English pale unles they wold either be slayne, or taken prisoners, so that beyng deprived of their accustomed libertie, to robbe and spoyle, necessitie constrayned them to humble them selves, not only unto a perpetuall peace, butt also to a quiet obedience and order. Yea, and when his maiestie by policy and by the good diligence of his faithfull deputie there, Sir Anthony Sellenger had thus overcome them: to confirme his force with mercy, he rewarded dyvers of these wyld men with greate sommes of his owne money, appoynting them places of civil honour, Earles, Barons, Knyghts, Esquyres, and such other, as the qualities of those persons seemed unto hym most convenient, and by this meanes hath brought that nacion, from
rude,

* Retire.

rude, beastly, ignoraunt, cruel and unruly Infidels, to the state of civil, reasonable, patient, humble, and well governed Christians ; not for desyre of Dominion, or for avarice of Revenue : Butt for Godes honour and for a christian peace, at his maiesties owne cost and charge, in the expence of so many thousand crownes, as were to longe now to tell : And loke how the wyld Irish before time warred agaynst the tame, even so hath the Scotts ever done, and yett do agaynst the english men, lyke for lyke. I say in the warres only, for in their lyvyng, the Scotts have a certayne order, both of religion and customes, though well it be somewhat barbarous. Butt if God had geuen the Kynge his life one two yeres longer, you shold surely have sene the same successe of Scotland, that you have herd me reherse of Ireland, for his maiestie was resolved, either by force or love, to have gotten into his handes the younge daughter that now is heyre to the Scottish crowne, and by mariage of her to his sonne Edward that now is our Kynge, to have made of one self devyded nacion and realme, one self perpetuall united people, and peace,

not

not for the welth of the Scottish dominion, which in respect of England is of as a comparison, as the barrayne mountaynes of Savoy, unto the bewtie of the pleasant Tuscane, butt for the uniforme quiet of their approved auncient contention. In very dede if his maiestie in this case had folowed the example of Josue to have brought his people of the desert in the champaigne, I wold never have gone about to excuse hym. Butt since otherwyse his travayle hath bene to bring his people out of the champaigne into the desert, which is a manifest witnes agaynst his defamed avarice, me semeth that they are muche to blame that therefore wolde burden hym with Tyranny. And as for his conscience in the motion of warre agaynst Fraunce. I wold geve the Emperour place to aunswere, whose importunate perswasions were occasions thereof. And what know I of the practises betwene the Turke and the french Kynge! butt as to the usurpyng of Boileigne, I say that not the Boileigneise alone, butt the most parte of all Picardy is not sufficient to satisfy the detts that the french Kynge dyd owe unto our Kynges maiestie,

what

what for the money lent hym to pay his ransome with all unto the Emperoure, when his sonnes lay therefore prisoners in Spaine; what for the restitution of Tirwyne and Turnay which our Kynges Maiestie conquered upon the ffrench Kynge in his youth; what for the tribute; and what for one thinge and what for an other, that it were a mervayle to reckon the infinite sommes of money in credite betwene them. Tribute, sayde one of them? Why doth the ffrench Kynge pay tribute to England? Yea that he doth sayde I. And wherfore, I pray you quoth he? I shall tell you sayde I, more then 200 yeres past, when the ryght lyne of the Kynge of ffraunce failed of heyres males, then was Isabel the onely daughter and heyres of ffraunce wyfe unto Edward the second then Kynge of England, by whome she had yssue Edward the thirde, that succeded his father to the crowne of England. Now what dyd the Barones of ffraunce? When they saw that folowyng the ryght succession, of force they must become subiectes unto England, the shame and servitude whereof could not in
the

the french men be supported, they incontinently studied a remedie, and made a law, that no heyre female shold inherrett the crowne of ffraunce, procedyng forthwith to the creation of Philip of Valois, and after hym of Kynge John that folowed and so rested in peace a certayne tyme, untill this Edward the third sonne of the sayde Isabel came unto the possession of England, who had no soner the sworde in hande, butt in to ffraunce he goeth, and there hewed and burned so longe that at length in playne battayle he toke the Kynge John prisoner, and leadyng hym into England, kept hym their, more than 3 yeres. Finally seying it impossible to governe ffraunce in peace, beyng Kynge of England, he fell at a composition with the sayde Kynge John for his rannsme, besydes the which, for a memorie of his interest he reserved in the articles of accorde, these ij covenantes, that is to say, that the frenche Kynge and his successoures should perpetually pay unto the crowne of England 50 thousand Crownes or thereaboutes of yerely Tribute, and should leave also the Title of Kynge of ffraunce unto the Kynges of England, by
authoritie

authoritie whereof the Kynge of England unto this day writeth hym selfe Rex Angliæ et franciæ, and the french Kynge writeth Rex francorum: and this tribute hath the french Kynge forborne to pay these xvj or xvij yeres past, so that I thought it worth the receyvyng amongst the other dettes. As you say (sayde an other of them) the honour is more worth then the money. It is very true sayde I. Butt this wyll I speake against myselfe, that a good christian ought to fight neither for money neither for honour. Butt where am I now? good faith I remembre not well what resteth me to aunswere. Mary sayde my contrary the mariage of the Kynges daughter and the Duke of Norfolke his death. Alas, Alas quoth I, I am all redy tyred. Butt because he that goeth to the Battayle loseth by his bloud-sheddyng if he fight it not out, I wyll se how I can overcome this litle rest, with as few wordes as I may possible. If I shold say that the lady Mary the Kynges Daughter deserveth not an husband, I should surely prove a wittye yonge man: and therefore wyll I now make you
my

my iudges. When for the stature of a womans body she is neither to highe nor to low, for bewtie of face she hath few fellows that I know: and in proporcion of membres, my penne cannot paint her. Butt what is all this? Nothings, for when I come to confidre her vertue, her shadow maketh me tremble.

All the prudence, all the modesty, all the curtesy, and all the sober smylyng chere that may be in a woman, is suerly in her. Prompt in invention, awares in speach, learned in the tongues, perfect in musick, to syng and play, and on the lute and virginalles, with out master in the world. Yea, she is gratefull to all persons, that I wote not what livyng creature were sufficient worthely to discryve her. So, if a husband might be a reward unto the bountye of so gracious a lady, I wyll say she is, and ever hath bene worthy to have the worthiest husband of the world. Butt now to the purpose, of that he wold not consent she shold mary *as I can imagine, (not that

* The great caution of our author in not asserting as a fact what was merely conjectural, is a circumstance that

that I know this as a suertye) two sundry
 respectes moved him there unto. The one,
 that to mary unto any man of meaner es-
 tate then her degre required, it should have
 bene a greate blemish to his and her honor.
 And the other, that to mary her in an high
 perlonage, untill his sonne that now is
 Kynge, were established in his realme, it
 might have bene occasion of some civill se-
 dition or impediment of his sonnes quiet
 dominion, and were not trow you these
 consideracions good? Yea, sayde my con-
 trary, synce as this sonne was borne, Butt
 before? Before quoth I! he ever hoped to
 have a sonne, and then also was his divorce
 fresh and new, which allowed hym not at
 that tyme to dispose her in mariage. And
 this suffiseth of her grace. finally unto the
 death of the Duke of Norfolke, and his
 sonne the Earle of Surrey. I must answere
 you by the same heresay, that you appose
 me. Synce beyng in Italy, myne cares in
 matters of England have bene mo instruct-
 ed than myne eye. Now as I am enform-
 ed,

that adds very much to the credibility of such things as
 he speaks of with certainty.

ed, this Earle of Surrey, who was a yonge man, that aftr his fathers death should have bene, the greatest lord in England next the Kynge, seying the Kynge sickly, and not lyke longe to contynue, imagined with hym selfe how he might attayne the crowne. first he considered well how the Prince was yonge, and not able to governe hym selfe, and then he perceyved how the multitude of the unconstant people were diverse of religion: some protestauntes and some papistes, so that with a litle power of frendes, he thought it possible to drawe one of the parties unto hym, and by some forreyne helpe, so to obteyne his purpose. Butt god that confoundeth the vayne men in their vayne thoughtes, brought these his ymaginacions to knowledge, by meanes of some of his frendes, to whome in figure he had promised the comyng of a fayre day, which wordes reveyled unto the Kynge, and conferred with the suspected ambicion of that yonge man, and with other presumpteons more then I know, caused his maiestie more diligently to examyne the matter, in so muche that there were certayne armes found, sett forth by hym, the
 sayde

sayde Earle of Surrey, wherein the Roiall armes of England were joyned with his, and one picture specially, in the which he had paynted hym selfe with the crowne on his right hand, and the Kynge on his left hand: So that when he was brought in to the open iudgement, he could not denye, butt that he had devised meanes to brynge his purpose to effecte, where unto the Duke his father was privie who therefore incurred the semblable daunger. Butt as I here say, the Kynge that deade is pardoned the old Duke his lyfe: and I cannot heare for a trueth he shold be deade. Butt if he were, I warrant you quoth I, it is not without good cause; for a poore souldiar that came even now from the Emperours campe, told me in Florence, not foure dayes agone, that he had herd a whysperying amonge the souldieres how the sayde Earle of Surrey, at his beyng with the Emperour before Laundersey, was entred into intelligence with dyvers greate captaynes and had gotten promes of ayde toward the furniture of his entent. Yea, sayde he, and further he shold have become the Emperoures man, for the selfe same purpose. I wyll not

saye, quoth I, that this is true. But when the meane private soldieres are growen so commonly to talke of these thinges, it is to be presumed, that amongst the greater captaynes, there should be somewhat of importaunce, for with out some fyre, there was never smoke. It is possible enoughe sayde one of them, for I my selfe, who have bene in the Emperours courte have herd muche reasonyng of this matter, in so muche that it was doubted whether this yonge prince shold be legitimate or not. Legitimate quoth I? that were a doubt in dede! for I am sure there can no lvyng creature be legitimate, if he be not. Do you remembre how I have shewed you, that the Kynge that deade is, afre the deceasse of his two first wyves was clere unto all the world or ever he married the thirde wyfe, on whome he begatt the yonge Kynge Edward that now is. So that there can no kynde of reason be made agaynst his legitimacye. Alas! quoth I, if you knew the towardnes of that yonge prince, your hert wold melt to heare hym named; and your stomake abhorre the malyce of them that wold hym yll. The bewtifull creature that

that lyveth under sunne, the wittiest, the most amiable and the gentlest thinge of all the world, suche a spirit of capacitie, learninge the thinge taught hym by his scoole-masters, that it is a wondre to heare say: and finally he hath suche a grace of porte and gesture in gravitie, when he commeth in to any presence, that it shold seme he were all redy a father: and yett passeth he not the age of x yeres, a thinge undoubtedlye muche rather to be sene, then beleved. Alas! quoth I, nay alas agayne, what crueltie should move these ravenyng dragones to covett the devouryng of so meke an innocent lambe, with the sedicion of such devilish rumoures! No, no, I shall tell you why sayde my contrary. The Kynge was interdicted by the church of Rome when he begatt the prince, and therefore perchance it may be sayde, his Title is not good. Good faith quoth I: and so may it be as well sayde, that because the realme hath bene xv yeres, no lesse interdicted then the Kyng, therefore the earth shold brynge forth no fruite: and yett thanked be god synce the world began, we never had greater plentie of all thinges, then we have had

in this tyme, by so muche the more, as the ydle bellies of the greate multitude of our aunciaunt religious persones, have now no more lycence to devoure, spoyle and waist our plowmens travayle; butt beleve me well, they that make them suche a church of warme wake to serve all mouldes, at length, with chaungyng of there figures may happen to lose their fourme. How now sayd I to my contrary, are you satisfied unto all your argumentes. I am, and I am not sayde he. I wote not how, by the holy masse, (quoth one of them, who earst had spoken no worde,) thou hast quit thy selfe lyke a tall felow: And if thou wylt go with me to morow, to dispute in a cause of contumacye, that I am called for before the popes legate, I wyll seke none other advocate, and thou shalt have a Crown for thy labour. I am no canonist Sir quoth I nor cannot therein serve your purpose, quia non protestor protestationes appellandi. No quoth he, I wyll you do no more butt declare my reason! Reason quoth I before the legate, that were a way in dede to bryng me in to limbo. have I not told you that the Pope and all his ministeres are expresse enemies

myes of all good reason and veritie! In fayth in faith quoth my contrary, if the legate dyd know of your reasonyng here this night I wold not be in your cote for a nother Crowne. I know that well ynoughe quoth I, for the least reward I could receyve, should be the easiest of one of these three: the sworde, the poyson, or the fyre. And when well he had done his worst, because he can no more butt putt me to my death, the end of all my mysery, and begynning of all my true Joye, I could not greatly * passe of his tyranny, remembryng this sayng of Job unto the lorde. Shorte be the dayes of man, and thou hast with thee, the nombre of his monethes, Thou hast ordayned hym his termes, which he cannot passe. Nevertheles I wyll kepe me as well out of his daunger as I may. for I wyll straight to Venice, where I trust to be safe. Nay by oure lady sayde he there are you deceyved, for if you be knowen in Venice, the legate that lieth there wyll straight wayes have you by the back. Why sayde I, is it possible that the famouse libertie of that Citie shold be in so

I 4

muche

* Suffer.

muche servitude, that the lordes thereof
 wold suffre me for the iust defence of my
 prince to endure persecution undre there
 wynges? specyally synce the amitie be-
 twene them and my sayde Kynge hath
 bene so perfecte, that when the Pope wyth
 all the other Princes of Europe, entered
 in to a confederacye to getheres unto their
 destruction, our sayde Kynge onely re-
 mained their frende? Butt let god work
 his wyll. for I have determined in this
 cace to trust more unto the iustice of there
 iust gloriousse common welth, then to feare
 the Tyrauny of the Pope, who under a
 counterfait name, not onely usurpeth the
 monarchie over the Princes of the World,
 butt also sucketh the bloude of the poore
 labourers of the erth. And if you wyll
 fynde out a false knave by the chaungyng
 of his right name; I wyll you do butt
 marke this little trick, that I shall tell you.
 Papa in the greke tongue pronouncyng
 the first syllable short, and the last longe is
 understood a priest in the English: And
 the grekes unto this day call there priest
 Papa. So that Papa came first unto Rome
 as a poore private priest and none other-
 wyse.

wyse. Butt when in proceſſe of tyme, after the prieſtes had converted Emperours, they began to take upon them temporall Byſhoprickes, uſurping all manner of worldly poſſeſſions and honours, then the glorious Byſhop of Rome aſhamed of ſo baſe a title, as prieſt, made to pronounce it the ſhorthe ſyllable for the longe, calling hym ſelfe paapa, inſtede of papaa, and ſo with tornyng the wrong ſyde outward of a poore prieſt, he is growen to that glory that you ſe hym in. And to prove agayne that he is no leſſe counterfaite in his doynges then in his name, he wryteth hym ſelfe *Servus ſervorum dei*, where as in very dede, he ſerveth no trew ſervaunt of god, butt rather utterly perſecuteth them, ſo that to undreſtaund this title well, I can fynde no goode interpretation unles you wold ſay, that the develles are godes ſervautes, as the hangeman is miniſter of the iuſtice, who for his owne private gayne wolde hange all the men in the world, if the iuſtice wold ſuffre hym, and as the hangeman uſeth the pliaunt halter to ſtrangle with all the condemned perſons, ſo may we ſay devylles godes ſervautes,

uſe

use the popes as there ministeres to brynge
 oure poore soules unto perdition. Butt lett
 we these trifles passe. To come unto a
 conclusion of oure Kynge, whose wis-
 dome, vertue, and bountye, my wittes
 suffiseth not to declare. Once, of per-
 sonage, he was one of the godlyest
 men that lyved in his tyme, verye
 highe of stature, in maner more then a
 man, and proporcioned in all his membres
 unto that height, of countenaunce he was
 most amiable, curteous and beninge in
 gesture unto all persons, and specyally
 unto straungers, seldome or never offended
 with any thinge, and of so constaunt a na-
 ture in hym selfe, that I beleve there be
 few can say that ever he chaunged his
 chere for any noveltie, how contrary or so-
 dayne so ever it were. Prudent he was in
 counsell, and farre castyng, most liberall
 in rewardyng his faithfull servauntes, and
 ever unto his enemies as it behoveth a
 prince to be. He was learned in all scien-
 ces, and had the gyft of many tongues.
 He was a perfect theologien, a good phi-
 losopher, and a stronge man of arms, a
 Jueller, a perfect buylder, as well of for-
 tresses

treffes as of pleasaunt palacyes, and from one to another, there was no kynde of necessary knowledge from a Kynge's degre to a Carters, butt that he had an * honest fight in it. What wold you I shold say of hym? he was undoubtedly the rarest man that lyved in his tyme. Butt I say not this to make hym a god; nor in all his doynge I wyll not saye he hath bene a saynte, for I beleve with the prophet, that non est iustus quisquis, non est requirens deum; omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sumus, non est qui facit bonum non est usque ad unum. I wyll confesse that he dyd many evil thinges, as the publican synner, butt not as a cruel Tyraunt, or as a pharisaicall hypocrite; for all his doynge were open, unto the whole world, wherein he governed hym selfe with so much reason, prudence, courage and circumspection, that I wote not where, in all the histories I have red, to fynde one private Kynge equall unto hym, who in the space of 38 yeres reigne, never receyved notable displeasure, how well that at one selfe tyme, he hath had open warre on three sydes,

* Or proper, decent, competent.

fydes, that is to say with ffrance, Scot-
 land and Ireland, in so much that beyng
 in person with his army in ffrance, he
 hath had a bloody battell stricken in the
 borders betwene hym and the Scottes of
 70 or 80 thousand men, whereof his per-
 petuall good fortune graunted hym most
 famousse victory, with the triomphe over
 his enemye, the scottish Kynge slayne in the
 battayle. And finally mark well the profe.
 The perfect present Authores, for an ex-
 treme example of an happy man, can al-
 ledge no greater then Poliorates Scimian
 who for all his prosperous dayes, finish-
 ed his life (nevertheles) in mischiefe in the
 handes of his cruel enemies: where as this
 Kynge Henry the eight, not onely hath
 lyved most happely, butt also hath quietly
 died in the armes of his dearest frendes,
 leavyng for wytneffe of his most glorious
 fame; the fruite of such an heyre, as the
 erth is scarcely worthy to nourish, who I
 trust shall with no lesse perfection per-
 fourme the true church of Christ, not per-
 mitted by his sayde father to be finished:
 then as Solomon dyd the Temple of Hie-
 rusalem, not graunted to David in the
 agaynst.

tyme of his lyfe. For who wolde speke
 agaynst the deade Kynge Henry myght
 much better say, he dyd se butt with one
 eye, and so accuse hym for lack of puttyng
 an end unto the reformation of the wycked
 church, then for doying of the thinges
 that he hath done agaynst the Apostaticall
 romayne sea. And who wyll well con-
 sider the discourse of the trueth, shall fynde
 the roote of all the rehersed mischefes (if
 mischefes they may be called) to have
 growen, either in the bosome of the Pope,
 of the Cardinalls, and of the Prelates, or
 ministers, or els of those superstitious lay
 people (as they call them) who have borne
 more faith unto the membres of the malig-
 nant church, then to the true god hym
 selfe; So that to make a iust exclamacion,
 you ought rather to cry out agaynst the
 exterminaunt tyraunny of your whoorish
 mother church and say. O you Ro-
 maynes, O Bolognies, O Revenmates, O
 Permesanes, O Placentines, O Avignions,
 how can you thus abide, not onely to be
 oppressed with so many Customes, Taxes,
 and Tallages, that the poore can fynde no
 food

food, * butt also have your bloude drawen unto death! O common welth of Florence, why suffred thou Pope Clement to take from thee thy libertie! And thou Duke Cosmus di Medici, how canst thou suffre those friers of St. Marke, proved for open Ribauldes, to dwell in thyne owne house in thy dispite: No No, I wyll forbear to speake of many other thinges that I could alledge, as good as this, which in dede are so manifest rebellions, or rather tyrannies agaynst the iust and lawfull princes, that they cannot be denied: and yett is there no man that dare once speak or open the mouth agaynst those Ribauldes. Butt it may chaunce the Turke wyll come one daye, to putt the office of Christian princes in to execucion, lynce they, they them selves wyll not attende unto it. How say

- Machiavel Observes that the Popes sometimes for the sake of their doctrine, and sometimes for their ambition, led foreign armies into Italy, and that they had no sooner rendered a prince powerfull but they repented of their folly, and sought his ruin; not permitting another to possess an estate, their own weakness had obliged them to resign. The disunion and debility of Italy, have been brought on by the papal wars and excommunications. *Hist. Flor. Lib. 1.*

you

you my masters quoth I? are these things true or not? They be true answered they all: and passing from one matter to another, whilest the tyme of supper approached, we fell in to dyverse talke of thinges to longe now to reherse. And albeit (gentyll reader) that unto the profe of purpose in this our disputation, I dyd truely allege many mo reasons then in this my litle booke are written, which in case of scrupulouse doute might perchaunce some tyme more perfectly have guyded thee unto the true knowlege: yett shall I besech thee in that behalfe not to accuse me of sloth: for myne entent in this doying, tendeth to none other, butt unto the excuse of my wrongfully slaundered Prince, whose good renowne, fame, and honour, I most hertely commend unto thee

ffarewell.

DISQUI-

you my first acquaintance, and these things
are or not? They be true and true, they
all: and passing from one matter to an-
other, whilst the same of supper ap-
proached, we fell in to diverse talks of
things so long now to rehearse. And as
best (gentle reader) that unto the pride of
quarrels in this our disputation, I dyd
wholly shewe many motions then in this
my little booke are written, which in case
of scrupulous doubt might perchance
some times more perfectly have guided thee
unto the true knowledge: yett shall I be-
lieve thee in that behalf not to trouble me of
this: for myne intent in this booke
was not to move other, butt unto the ex-
cuse of my wretchedly slandered Prince,
whose good remembrance, fame, and honour,
I most heartily commend unto thee.

W. B. R.

DISCOUR.

DISQUISITIONS ON
AFFAIRS OF STATE.

K

D

7

tym

V

crib

wit

trio

"

"

"

fat

con

mo

tha

is

cau

ma

and

dar

ow

on

emp

stro

DISQUISITION, &c.

Whether it be expedient to varie with tyme.

WHAT tyme is, Solomon in the thirde of Ecclesiastes doth sufficiently describe: including all things under the Sonne within tyme. And as Petrarke saith in the triomphe of tyme,

*“ Passan vostre grandezze, e vostre pompe: **

“ Passan le Signorie, passano i regni:

“ Ogni cosa mortal tempo interrompe.

Wherefore seing tyme is both the father and devowrer of all things, and consequently that nothing is to man more precieuse than tyme, it foloweth that he who in tyme can take his tyme is most happie in this world. But because we see the worlde to depende in maner altogither upon contraries, as rest and moving, lack and having, light and darkenesse, white and blacke, silence and

K 2

noyse,

* Grandeur and pomp shall fade, principalities and empires pass away; and every mortal thing shall be destroyed by time.

noyſe, ſweete and ſowre, hote and colde, light and heaue, ſoſte and harde, moyſt and drie; with infinite others, in ſuch wiſe as euerie thing hath his contrarie: therfore it ſeemeth a great difficultie unto man (as in dede it is) how amonge ſo many diſcordes he may gather any proffitt of his tyme.

For whan all is rekened no man ſyndeth thinge in this world more ioyful nor more acceptable unto him than proſperitie, which he eſteemeth ſo much that he refuseth no labor nor in maner any perill to attayne it; and yet hath this proſperitie proved ſuch a lyer, flaterer and deceaver of men, that whan they have moſt reioyſed and truſted in it, even the proſperitie itſelf hath been cauſe of their extreame ſorowe and aduerſitie; as by infinite examples it is manifeſt. Howe ſoddainely was the glorie of Balthaſar in the 6th of Daniell played of God.

For in dede this proſperitie (or humayne felicitie as ye lyſt to call it) is not eſteemed proſperitie till it be at the higheſt: and than it ſeemeth of ordinairie that whan we reaken to be moſt happie, ſoddainely ſome contrarie happeneth: ſo that the eſteemed proſperitie

prosperitie encreaseth the aduersitie, and is rather a beginneng of mishappe than any felicitie in dede. Which the Astronomers ascribe unto the Planetts: bicause all things in earthe (as they saie) arr governed by the mocions of the sterres. And as whan they be in a sextile or tryne aspect they are accompted prosperouse; so in the quadrate or opposite they arr infortunate, and their courses being such as in a moment they leape from the one to the other, it is no mervaile (saie they) though mennes fortune do semblably varie.

Philip king of Macedone whan he had in one daie gotten the victorie in the * Olympiades plaies and in the battail both, praied God to recompence that great happe with some small evill. Whereupon he was by chaunce shott into the eye: accompting himself happie in the midst of his prosperitie to encounter with a small misfortune. For as the stone that is throwen into the ayre falleth the more vehemently the higher he is throwen, so most comonly it fareth by mannes prosperitie the higher he seemeth to clymbe the greater is his overthrowe. And if in his prosperitie (to

K 3

the

* Olympick games.

the which all men covett to aspire) we finde this difficultie or perill, whereunto than shall man applie his time?

Trulie as the musicien useth sometime a flatt and sometime a sharpe note, sometime a shorte and sometime a longe to make his songe perfect, so saith Macchiavegli ought man to phrame his proceadings unto his tyme, and albeit that man can not so directly concorde them as to make them alwaies agree like the musiciens divers notes, bicause some men arr ledde of vehemence and some of respect and feare, in the one or other whereof all men most comonly do erre: yet he is to be esteemed the wisest and happiest man that in proceading maketh least discordes with tyme. And as the phisicion to the remeadie of sicknesse minstreth unto his patients both medecynes and dyetts other than they shulde receave whan they were hole: so man in his affaires shulde procead according to his tyme altering as the occasion requireth: and not to persever obstinately in one opinion howe good or howe proffitable so ever it had proved in other tyme before.

Fabius

Fabius Maximus (of whom || I have spoken heretofore) was for his tyme a wonderfull Cap^{te}; and the whole preffervacion of the Romaine common wealthe, bicause his fortune was to springe in a tyme conformable to his nature. For Annibal being newly arrived in Italie with a courageous armie; and having obteigned the victorie of sundrie fore battailes, was not any more to be foughten withall, as well for the respect of his owne encreased streingth, as for the weakenes of his often abated enemies: So that against him in that tyme there was none so meete a Cap^{te}: as Fabius, who with prolonging of tyme decreased Annibals treasure and power, but aftrewards whan the Romaines were at a better staie and hable as well to offende as to defende, than was Scipio sent into Affrike with an armie to bringe those warres to an ende; which his tyme and fortune served him to do. And yet was Fabius at that tyme of opinion that Scipio shulde not go: cleaving alwaies to his owne manner of proceeding, so that if Fabius had than been Prince or Governor in such sorte as his opinion must have had place, Anni-

K 4

bal

|| In some other work which probably is lost.

bal might for him have been yet in Italie. Wherein they do commonly erre that have before prospered in their opinion, the happe whereof maketh them so to hope the like, that in maner it shal be impossible to dissuade them. which in dede is one the greatest causes of the comon mishap that foloweth prosperitie; ffor whan men woll observe one direct or (as I may call it obstinate proceeding) if the tyme come that shall require the contrarie: it foloweth their proceeding must pearish. I meane not that any man shulde varie in amitie, torne from vertue to vice or to alter in any such thinge as requireth constancie: but tooching the other publike or private doings, I thinke nothing more necessarie than to varie with the tyme.

Alexander the Lacedemonien being a notable valliant Prince used neverthelesse in all his doings more policie than force: whereof his familiars wolde sometyme reprove him, saing that he degenerated from Hercules of whom he was descended: but he smyleing wolde answere, that wheare he coulde not plaie the Lyon it was no shame to plaie the Foxe. Which of some men is condemened

condemned as a vile and viciouse thinge ; for Quintus Curtius upon the answer of Alexander the great unto Parmenio maketh a great discourse : declaring howe Parmenio counsailed Alexander to oppresse his enemy by policie : Whereunto Alexander answered that if he were Parmenio he wolde so do, but being Alexander it behoved him liberallie to fight and iustlie to overthrow.

In dede whan so ever a Prince may openly without perill attaigne either the victorie over his enemy or his purpose with them that be indifferent, his proceeding ought to have no craft; but whan either his power serveth nor or that his contrarie practiseth subtiltie (as most comonly Princes do at these daies) than me seemeth policie is no vice. Ffor all men arr not Alexanders. No nor Alexander was not himself at leingth even as he was ; to be comended in the vertuouse over comyng of his enemy (if vertue it may be called) whan his power served him thereunto : So was he to be dispraised in the unnaturall misusing of his frends whan with them and by their helpe he had passed so many perills, wherefore

wherefore at length his owne prosperitie
bredde his owne destruction.

Philip de Comines writeth that at the
treatie of the peace beside Conflans, Loys
the XIth. frenche King and the Conte
Charolois sonne to the Duke of Burgoigne
mett symplie in the felde: and walking
together alone in treating of the matter, the
King ledde the Erle into a Bulwerke of his
before Paris or ever the Erle tooke heede:
and neverthelesse agreed with him and sent
him backe againe unto his armie that thar
was wondrefullie disturbed for his absence
and daungier, the curtesie whereof (as I be-
lieve) encouraiged the same frenche King
astrewards to put himself in the Duke of
Burgoignes power at Peronne. Wheare he
founde great cause to repent him of his fo-
lie, ffor whilest he laie in the Castell the
Duke was in a thousande thoughtes whea-
ther he shulde reteigne him still or do worse,
and if the King had denied any of his re-
quests it had in dede proved evill with
him.

Thus it appeareth that no man ought
with his owne nature to measure the na-
ture of an other man and speciallie of
Princes;

Princes ; who arr not rekened wise whan they loose either tyme or advauntage, and therefore Philip de Commynes alloweth them not to meete togethers, unlesse it be in youthe whan their heades arr given to pleasers. But in cases of treatie for peace in tyme of warre, or for interest in tyme of peace, whan the power of the one may be suspect to the other : Lett never Princes meete. No, the jalousie of astate is so great that whan a Prince may advoide any perill either by foresight, or by policie : Lett him never tempte God ; for miracles arr rare.

Isabell Queene of Naples being expulsed the Realme by the first Alfonse than entituled King thereof, made recourse unto Eugeine than Busshop of Rome for aide to recover her astate, who in her favo^r sent a Patriarke that for a while prospered, yet at leingth neere unto Salerno the King gate him into such a straight as neither he nor his coulde escape. Than fell he to treatie and promised the King all his requests, whereupon trewse was taken and he lett go. But immediately afre knowing the King upon trust of the trewse to be voide of suspicion :

pcion: he tornd so suddainely upon him that on Christmas daie the King being at masse, worde came that the Patriarke was at hande, which notwithstanding the King, of superstieion wolde needes heare out his masse, and so obstinately persevered that the Patriarke came in dede, fought with the Kings garde at the Church doore slewe divers of them, tooke all the Kings plate and carriages, and so hotely pursued the King himself, that with much adoo he escaped to Capua.

Whereinlick as the Patriarke shewed himself a trewe membre of the wicked church, so did the King erre in twoo waies. First in suffering the enemy to escape whan he had him at the advauntage: and afre in tempting God with a trust that needed not. as Cicero saith " Ne offeramus * nos periculis sine causa.

Wherefore amonge Princes, of all thinges the tyme and advauntaige is to be observed in such sorte that having the enemy at an afredeale, either constreigne him by force to yelde unto thy proffitt, or deale with him so liberallie that he may both knowe what cace he is in, and howe much kindenesse
thou

* We ought not to expose ourselves to unnecessary inconvenience.

thou deseruest of him : which later waie almost is not to be used in our daies, bicause Princes have lesse confynes to their willes and lesse amitie to their neighbo^r than in tyme past hath been accustomed.

Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Posthumus being Consules of Rome happened with their both armies to arrive in a valley called Caudina, wheare their enemies the Samnites stopped the streietes in such sorte as Livie writeth that the Romaines lamenting their misfortune saied * “ Ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis : sedens bellum conficiet. In which cace the Samnites astonished with their unhoped fortune wist not what counsaill to use, wherfore Caius Herennius their Cap^{ne} sent home to his father Herennius Pontius an aged wise man to heare his opinion, who undrestanding the case answered they shulde freely lett the Romaines go without offending them in any thinge: which advice the Samnites liked not, and therfore sent to him againe: then he badde cutt them all to pieces and lett not one escape.—These two answeres so contrarie made them believe he doted by reason of his

* The enemy need not advance against us with the sword, they may gain the victory sitting.

his age, wherefore they sent for him, and being comme asked what he ment. Marie qd he if ye do the first your liberalitie shall establish a perfect peace and amitie with a people more puissaunt than yourself; and if ye do the seconde, distroieng these twoo armies, ye abase their power so that in many yer^{es} they shall not againe be hable to annoye you. Other counsaill (qd he) I knowe none. And being than demaunded what he thought of a meane betwene these twoo extremities, in letting them go upon such covenantes as arr wonte to be taken of men overcomme: he answered, So shall ye neither purchase freendes nor ridde you of enemies: for ye preserve them that ye have offended, yea and further provoke them with shame. And it proved trewe in dede, ffor it had been better for the Samnites at that tyme to have been discompfited of the Romaines in battaill than to have lett them go as they did with so shamefull a peace: as by the proceffe of the historie it appeareth.

In effect it fareth by Princes in this cace as in expences it fareth by the prodigall man: who of his treasure gathereth but
thanks,

thankes, and perchaunce scorne, and whan he hath all spent, his most gaine is miserable pitie. Wherfore the wise Prince loo-
seth neither his tyme nor advauntaige, as King Edward the III^{de} whan he had lyen a yere before Calays, and was challenged by the ffrenche King to feight, answered: No, I have lyen here (qd he) these XII monethes to my great chardge, and if I shulde nowe putt that in adventure that I am sure of, I shulde commit a great folie. Which answere proceeded not of cowardise, ffor before that tyme he refused not the feight at Vironfosse, nor the battailes of Cane, Blanchetake, nor Cressly, but he wolde loose neither the tyme he had spent there, nor the advauntaige of wynneng the towne which within fewe daies aftre was yelded unto him. And albeit that he varied from his nature to refuse any feight, yet bicause the time required so, it was rather honourable than otherwise.

Loose therefore neither advauntaige nor tyme, the wynneng whereof is accompted the greatest matter amonge Princes, liek as the losse is by examples proved to be of no lesse moment. And lett him not thinke
to

to prosper in this worlde that well not varie in his proceedinges according to the tyme. For as there is nothing more pleasaunt than the concorde of musicke: nor nothing more displeasaunt than the disorde therof, so whan doinges and tyme agree there is nothing more happie, nor whan they disagree nothing more unhappie: having in them much more variacion than tewnnes in musicke have.



WHAT

WHAT PRINCES AMITIE
IS BEST.

L

WHAT PRINCE ALBERT
IS THE

WHAT PRINCES AMITIE IS BEST.

AMITIE or frendeship (as Cicero defineth it) is the perfect concorde of all divine and humayne thinges with benivolence and charitie. And he saith that wisdom excepted, he knoweth not whether thimmortal Goddes have given unto man any better thinge. ffor it maketh the prosperouse thinges more resplendaunt, and aduersities the more easie. And if it were possible for the Princes of these daies to use that amitie that some Princes have doon as we reade of Massinissa and Scipio and of others, than it were no neede to talke of other amitie than of that sweete private amitie that Cicero so well hath described. And without further question that Princes amitie were best, in whose hert those rules of amitie were written. But the perverse nature of men in this tyme doth skarsely permitt any perfect amitie. Wherefore to treat of the politike amitie that is to saie the accustomable amitie that may be had,

it is first to be considered to what ende the amitie of foreyn Princes doth serve, and what nede one Prince hath of thothers amitie.

Trulie if it be well considered though there be many causes to be alledged why it behoveth Princes to have amitie, yet all shulde tende but to one ende, that is to saie to mainteigne their owne, ffor the fruite of the foreyn Princes amitie consisteth in twoo poinctes, one is giveng aide to resist an ennemye, § ut sine injuria in pace vivatur, and thother in relieving his frendes cuntrey with those comodities that it wanteth. Both which as I have saied, tende to that ende that is rehearsed before. And bicause fewe Princes arr of themselves habble to mainteigne their owne, if they want frendeship of other Princes; therfore it followeth this amitie to be verie necessarie. ffor it hath been often seene that Princes and other astates have been brought to that poincte for lack of frendes that having to do with such as were more puissant than themselves they neither coulde mainteigne peace nor susteigne warre: in which cace either they must throwe themselves into
their

§ To live peaceably without molestation.

their lappes that shall helpe them, or must become a praie to those that do assaulte them. And this happeneth through lack of foresight whan the Prince or astate hath not measured their forces with their doinges, as Livie writeth of the Latines VIIIth Booke of his first decade. † Jam Latio is status erat rerum ut neque pacem neque bellum pati possent. By reason that through lacke of frendes to aide them, the amitie and the inimetie of the Romaines was indifferent unto them. ffor if they had peace their condicions were intollerable and their impotencie in the warre made them at length fall into thraldome. But leaving the examples of people that had no Prince we may reade as well of our owne histories as of others what inconveniences have happened to them that have wanted foreyn frendship.

Howe often did the Danes in King Egbertes tyme invade this Realme, spoyle it, and rannsomme it? Howe many doubtfull and bluddie batailes were foughten betwene our nacion and them in the Vth yere of Aluredes reigne?

L 3

What

† Such was the state of Latium that peace and war were equally pernicious to it.

What made Etheldrede flee into Normandie leaving his crowne to the possession of Sueno or Suanus a Dane?

And had Willm Duke of Normandie been hable to expulse Harolde King of Englande and to enioye the crowne, if Harolde had had any straunge frende? If I shulde folowe on with like examples wheare the astatcs have been utterly subverted and altered from one nacion to an other (much through the lacke of frendeship) I shulde be over tedious. But this I find that though there be many causes to be alledged in the subversion or alteration of astatcs, yet one of the greatest is the lacke of Princes amitie. Wherefore determyneng that emonge the great cares that Princes ought to have for the preservation of themselves and their astatcs, this amitie spoken of before, shulde not be the least: We must nowe examine what Princes amitie is best? In which behalfe IIII thinges arr worthie of consideration, the Propinquitie, the Auncientie of frendeship, the Religion, and the Nature of the Prince, whose amitie is sought. First for propinquitie, albeit that it is both profitable and commendable to have

have the amitie of all Princes yet it is evident that the neighbo^r amitie is much to be preferred before the straungers. And herein lyeth a question, whose amitie is the better, his that may most annoye, or his that may most assist? ffor a meane Prince that is a neighbo^r: may annoye more than a puissant Prince that dwelleth ferre of: and such a puissant Prince agayne may by contrarie meanes assist more than the meane neighbo^r: Prince.

In effect it hath been ever proved that the amitie of him which may most annoye is to be preferred. ffor by this amitie ye do not only advoide the daungier of that annoyaunce that he may do, but ye also may have his ayde to ioigne with yo^r: which though it were but meane in respect of the ferre Princes power, must nevertheless be such an helpe as may serve your torne more redilie: And the amitie of ferre Princes hath ever proved so uncertayne that a small power of the neighbo^r hath been most commonly preferred before it. Wherefore liek as thamitie of a private neighbo^r: is unto everie private man for his domesticall affaires more necessarie than the ami-

tie of a straungier, even so in a state, the amitie of the neereſt Prince is more convenient than of him that is diſtaunt.

Ffor prooſe whereof in the laſt warres betwene ||Thempo^r and ffrenche King, Barbaroſſa the Turkes Admirall with an armie of viii^M Turkes landed in Provaunce: being ſent at the ffrenche Kynges requeſt from the Turke to aide him againſt Thempo^r: As for the Turkes uiſſaunce I neede not to rehearſe it; and the ffrenche Kynges ſolie in this behalfe declared itſelf. Ffor whan he thought Thempo^r to ſtronge for him, he made accompte that matching himſelf with one of more uiſſaunce, he ſhulde the rather ſuppreſſe his enimie. but bicauſe he conſidered not that a ſtraunge Prince upon an uncertaine hope wolde be lothe to adventure any great power of his ſo ferre from him, that their retorne ſhulde be either deſperate or doubtfull, therfore he failed in his ymaginacion, for the Turke ſent him but a ſmall power, more for a countynance of amitie than for amitie in dede. That armie travailed ferre, putt the frenche King to great chardges; diſcovered his cuntry,

|| The Emperor.

trey, and did him no service: So that it was † Magis nomen, quam presidium.

The contrarie whereof proved with Thempo' who through the amitie of his neighb': the King of Englande invaded ffraunce and compelled the ffrenche King to condicones of advauntaige.

For auncient or longe contynuanee of amitie. What Prince so ever habandoneth the auncient amitie betwene him and an other, or betwene his familie and an other, putteth himself in great adventure, and may be afre a maner resembled to Esopes water dogge, that covetting the shadowe lost the fieshe: bicause that unto amitie there is none so great a mynister as tyme, which being ones violated, without tyme againe can not be recovered, and seing that in Princes affaires many tymes a new frendship one waie, engendreth breache in olde amitie an other waie, it can not be chosen but the defyleng of that amitie must breede extreame displeaser in the Prince that receaveth the iniurie, whereof foloweth the more hate of an auncient assured frende for
the

† Rather a name than a protection.

the uncertayne amitie of a newe reconfyled
foo.

The example whereof hath been well
seene in Lowys Sforza late Duke of Mylaine,
who through his unkinde dealing with the
Venetians auncient approved frendes unto
his familie, fell into the handes of the last
Lowys Frenche King: in whose prison he
finished his miserable daies.

For Religion, it is necessarie the Princes
that woll observe amitie be of one opinion.
Otherwise it is impossible the amitie shalde
contynewe longer than necessitie compelleth
thone or other to mainteigne it. For wheare
arre contrarie opinions of religion there can
be no longe agreement. And there is no
Prince nor private man so * fymple as if it
laie in his power wolde not compell the
whole worlde to believe as he doth.

In dede the Turke within his Domynions
compelleth no man to alter his religion,
by reason whereof he is the more hable pea-
sable to enioye so large an Empire; But
if he thought he might bringe all men to
Machomettes Lawe (as he seeth the con-
trarie)

* Of such mean estate.

trarie) he wold use that rigor: in religion that he doth in other thinges. And there was never greater folie ymagined than the Frenche Kinges devise of amitie with the Turke; for if the Turke observe not faithe to the Princes of his owne religion, but destroyeth as many as comme ones under his power, what faith or amitie can he beare to a christian Prince? So that if by the Turkes meanes the Frenche King might have extirped Thempo': (which was thende of this desired amitie) his owne destruccion must have folowed. For with the Turke,
** Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est.*

Finally for the Princes nature, if he be a good Prince his amitie must needes be preferred before the amitie of a Tyraune, bicause thone doth that willingly that thother never doth but of necessitie.

Wherefore I conclude thamitie of that Prince to be best, who is neereft neighbo, most auncient frende, agreable of religion, and good of nature.

At the least, if these *iiij* can not be founde in one Prince, than I thinke his amitie best, who is endued with most of them.

W H E A-

* No sacred tie or public faith exist:

(wrote) he would not that religion in religion
 that he born in other tongues. And there
 was never greater told imagined than the
 Venetian Kings desire of amity with the
 Turks for is the Turk's oblique not faith
 to the Prince of his own religion, but de-
 sires as many as common ones under his
 power, what faith or religion can he bear
 to a Christian Prince? that is by the
 Turkish manner the Venetian King might
 have expected (which was the de-
 sire of this Turkish Sultan) his own destruction
 must have followed. For with the Turk
 will stand fast and does reign off.
 Truly for the Prince's nature, it he be
 good Prince his amity must needs be
 preferred before the amity of a Tyrant,
 because there both that willingly that
 another sees both but of necessity.
 Therefore I conclude the amity of that
 Prince to be best, who is next neighbor,
 most ancient friend, agreeable of religion,
 and good of nature.

At the least, if there may can be
 found in one Prince, than I think his
 amity best, who is ended with most of

WHEATHER IT BE BETTER FOR
A COMMON WEALTHE THAT
THE POWER BE IN THE
NOBILITIE OR IN THE
COMMONALTIE.

WHETHER IT BE BETTER FOR
A COMMON WEALTH THAT
THE POWER BE IN THE
HONORABLE OR IN THE
COMMONALTY

1
8

THE people of everie Monarchie or Realme is divided in twoe partes, thone nobilitie and the other commohaltie, in whom be twoo repugnant desires. The one to rule, and the other not to be ruled. And bicause the desire of them prevaileth in whom the power consisteth, therefore our question is, to whom that power is most convenient for the common wealthe?

Upon which question dependeth this other. Wheather is more preiudiciall to the common wealthe the noble man that seeketh to mainteigne his astate, or the un-noble that seeketh to attaigne nobilitie. Or whose desire is the greater, his that hath alreadie and feareth to loose, or his that hath not and coveteth to gayne.

In effect it hath been proved that the desire of both is equal, ffor he that hath, thinketh he can not saufely enioye his owne if he gett no more: and he that hath not must of necessitie seeke to have. And
though

though this desire be equall in itself, yet
 arr theeffectes thereof unequall. For he
 that hath may gayne with ease, whereas he
 that hath not, can not well gayne with-
 out travaile; in which travaile consisteth
 the grounde of all civile policie. For if
 the needie might attaigne their thinges
 without travaile for them, or the weal-
 thie finde none ease in the richesse that
 they have travailed for, than shulde the
 worlde becomeme barbarouse for lacke of
 travaile. Wherefore lick as it is necessarie
 to constreigne the needeful to travaile, even
 so is it requisite to mainteigne him that by
 travaile hath deserved rest, in power to rest.
 For of Diligence and travaile nobilitie is
 growen, and as longe as either the noble
 man or the unnoble seeketh to mainteigne
 or attaigne by due meanes, so long is nei-
 ther of them noysome to the comon wealthe:
 but whan so ever either of them seeketh his
 purpose by power, and so growe into par-
 ties, than is the partie of the commons the
 more daungerouse, for three speciall causes;
 that is to wete their inconstancie, perill,
 and ignoraunce.

First

First that the multitude is most inconstant it is evident: for among many men are many opinions, which breedeth confusion, and though by persuasion or necessity they may agree, yet is it impossible their agreement should long continue. As for example. In the beginning of the third Booke of the III^d Decade of Titus Livius I read that after the battail of Trasimene when Anniball came before Capua, the commons of that Citie had their Senators and Magistrates in such contempt, that the best of the towne feared to be slaine, and so the Citie to be yielded unto Anniball. Of which matter Livie beginneth on this wise. † *Inde Capuani flectit iter, luxuriante longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunæ. Maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.* insomuch that Pacuvius Calavius one of the nobilitie there, to save both the Senate and the Citie, and

M

† He then turned his course towards Capua, grown delirious with continual happyness, and the indulgence of fortune. All order was subverted, by the licentiousness of the people who exercised their liberty beyond any reasonable measure.

to wynde the people, devised this subtiltie. First he perswaded the Senatours to be ordered by him, and so locked them up together in the Senate house. Than he called the commons unto him, making an oracion to this effect. That he knewe the just hate they bare against their rulers: which moved him to procure a meane howe they might without their owne perill be avenged on them. Wherefore by his owne policie he had made them sure in the Senate, and wolde bringe them foorth to be punished at the peoples iudgement according to their demerites. Whereof the people wondrefully reioysed. But than he perswaded them it was necessarie to do twoo thinges at ones, one to dispatche the olde Senate and the other to choose a newe Senatours or ever they executed the olde, Whereupon he caused the Senato^rs names to be put into a pott, and so taken out by one and one at adventure.

The first Senatour whose name happened to be drawen was brought foorth, and with an open crie of the people condemned. Nowe qd. Pacuvius ye have iudged him, choose one in his place. Of which election

election Livie writeth thus. † Primo silentium erat, inopia potioris subijiciundi. Deinde cum aliquis omissa verecundia quempiam nominasset, multo major exemplo clamor oriebatur, cum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem, fordidamque inopiam, et pudende artis aut questus genus obijcerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio Senatore factum est. So that at leingth for lack of better they were contented to keepe their olde, and to stande to Pacuvius discrecion, and to this effect infinite examples may be alledged that nothing is more inconstant than the moltitude.

Than for the perill none is to be compared to the frenesie of the people, for liek as if a madde man gett the swearde in hande, he is like not only to mischief

M 2

others

† First a silence prevailed, for want of knowing a better subject to propose. But afterwards shame being set apart, a candidate was named; when a general and loud clamor arose. He was unknown to some; while others objected to his vices, his lowness of condition, his foul indigence, his shameful family or profession. The tumult encreased as new persons were proposed.

others but also himself, even so fareth it by the commons, if they ones attaigne the power, they destroie both the nobilitie and themselves. Example of the Jaquerie that sprang in Beauvoysine and other cuntreys of Fraunce the yeare 1358, of whom Froyfarte in the 182 chapter of his first volume, saith these wordes. These mischevous people thus assembled without Capitaigne or Armure, robbed brent and slewe all gentlemen that they could laie handes on, and forced and ravished ladies, and damoiselles and did such shamefull dedes that no humayne creature ought to thinke on any such. Which rage if they had prevailed in, they wolde at leingth have converted upon themselves, whan the gentlemen had been utterly destroied. I might bringe a nombre of examples as well of our owne nacion as of others to this effect, but none more crewell than the Jaquerie.

Thirdely for ignoraunce, the moltitude utterly knoweth nothing, and though somme examples of good successe may be alledged for the populare astates, yet if they be well sought, it shall appeare they never proceaded of wisedome but of necessitie.

And

And than comparing thinconveniences that happened before the necessitie to the successes that have folowed, it shall be founde that the wisedomē learned of necessitie is derely bought. Even the Swizzers that destroied their gentlemen in a daie, and that nowe glorie most in their popularitie, both have had of late yeres and must needes have shortely the like yll fortune that hath happened unto Athenes Florence and such other.

Wherfore I determyne it is impossible any astate shulde longe prosper wheare the power is in the commonaltie, for liek as it becommeth neither the man to be governed of the woman nor the master of the servaunt, even so in all other regimentes it is not convenient the inferiour shulde have power to direct the superiour, bicause that of power proceedeth commaundement and of commaundement execucion.

It may be saied, it hath been often seene by experience that through the covetousnes of the nobilitie the commons have been oppressed, so that for the disordinate appetites of a fewe the moltitude hath suffered : which seemeth a greater evill than that the

fewe shulde suffer for the multitude, wherefore if the power were in the commonaltie the magistrates wolde alwaies be the more carefull to bridell the excessse of the nobilitie and to aduaunce the publike wealthe. Which argument in dede were verie good in cace they wolde alwaies mainteigne their civile lawes and the orderes of their magistrates inviolate, but what populare astate can be redde of that hath xxx yeres together eschewed sectes, sedicion, and commocions in such sorte as ones within those xxx yeres the whole astate hath not been in daunger of subversion? And than must I aske, wheather is more pestilent to the common wealthe the tyrannie of a fewe, or the subversion of thastate?

I must confesse there be twoo notable evilles that in a maner growe of ordinarie in the nobilitie, with the one whereof the commons arr offended and with the other grieved. The first is ambition and the seconde tyrannie: which arr both so united that lightlie thone foloweth thother.

When so ever the noble man or Magistrate useth the place of his calling for himself without regarde to the inferiour sorte,
 than

than waxeth he ambiciouse, the mayntenance whereof engendreth tyrannie: that is to saie practise of unlawful gayne or crewell handeling of his inferiours: Wherefore Macchiavegli in his discourses of the libertie of a common wealthe determineth, that in caces of extremitie wheare the magistrates or Nobilitie use this tyrannie, the commociones of the people arr necessarie, to mitigate the xcesse of the great mennes ambicion. And in the greatest extremities in dede it seemeth to have somme reason: as in the necessitie of the poore Atheniens whan Solon was made Pretor, or the like of the Romaines whan they rebelled and went to the holie hill wheare Menenius Agrippa appeased them. But otherwise thambicion and tyrannie of the nobilitie were much more tolerable than the insolence, inconstancie, perill and ignoraunce of the moltitude. For these faultes of the nobilitie arr nothing comparable to those of the commons, and speciallic in that the astate remaigneth with them alwaies inviolate. Whereas if the moltitude prevaile ones in power, all goeth to confusion, the astate is subverted, everie mannes proper-

tie, his possession and goodes are altered : and they themselves never retorne to order but by necessitie.

In the monarchie or astate of a Prince, if the Prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyrannie of the nobilitie, for he is the same bridell in power over his nobilitie, that the nobilitie is over the commons : and tendeth aswell to the rule of the one as to the preservation of the other.

And though he were a Tyrane, yet I saie his tyrannie is more tollerable than the tyrannie of the nobilitie in the astate of Optimates, where in steade of one there be many Tyrannes, for the propertie of a Tyrane is, not to suffer within his power any more Tyrannes than himself. And if the tyrannie of the nobilitie, as I have said before be more tollerable than thinsolence of the multitude, much more tollerable than is the Princes tyrannie than the commons power.

Wherefore I conclude that it is better for the common wealthe, the power be in the nobilitie than in the commonaltie.

Neither

Neither do I meane that for the daungers rehearsed, the commons shulde be so kepte down, as the wretched commons of somme other cuntreys be, but I wolde their discipline and education shulde be such, that the only name of their Princee shulde make them to tremble, which they wolde never regarde, if either the power were in them or that they feared not a superiour power. For if they have but so much libertie as to talke of the Princes causes and of the reason of the Lawes, at ones they shewe their desire not to be ruled, whereof groweth contempte and consequentlie disobedience the moother of all erroures.



* To the K I N G E S Ma^{tie}.

UPON fridaie last, Mr. Throgmerton declared your Ma.^{ties} pleaser unto me, and delivered me withall the notes of certein discourses, which according to your highnes commaundement I shall most gladly applie; to send you one everie weeke if it be possible for me in so litle tyme to compasse it: as in verie dede it were more than easie; if the daily service of myne office required not the great travaile and diligence that it doth.

And bicause he tolde me your Ma.^{tie} wold first heare myne opinion tooching the reformation of the coyne, albeit that I think myself both unmeete and unhable to give any iudgement in so great and weightie a matter, without the counsaill and advise of others, yet syns it is your highnes pleaser to have it secret (which I do much commende) I therefore am the bolder to entreprise

* This is one of the essays alluded to in the Preface.

prise the declaracion of my fantasie: trusting that upon this grounde better devises and better effect may ensue than my heade alone can contrive.

And bicause Mr. Throgmerton is absent, I have delivered it thus sealed to Mr. Fitzwilliams to deliver unto your Ma.^{tie} as it were a thinge from the Counsaill. Assuring your highnes that no creature lyving is or shalbe privie either to this or to any of the rest through me. Which I do keepe so secret to this ende, that your Ma.^{tie} may utter these matters as of your owne studie: whereby it shall have the greater creadite with your Counsaill. As for the daunger to be authour of a newe thinge (which when the tourne commeth I shall declare at leingth) I have a wondrefull confidence of suretie in your goodnesse. But at the worste I esteeme my lief lesse than the service of my Prince and Cuntrey.

I neede not to rehearse the private respectes that shulde move your Ma.^{tie} to the reformation of your coyne, but if there were no moo reasons me seemeth the necessarie satisfaction of your people in one kinde is a sufficient argument.

Plato

Plato in his dialoge of Hipparchus De lucri cupiditate, affirmeth that all men naturally desire gaine, and afre this maner he proveth it. †Omnes homines bonum appetunt, Et quia Lucrum utile est, Utile vero bonum, Omnes naturâ lucrum appetunt, quodque hec appetitio naturalis laudanda est.

I woll not dispute of the differences ordinate and disordinate in this desire, but it is manifest that all men desire gaine, and whan they want the chiefeſt thinge, they covett to gayne, than their desire kendleth, and becommeth viciouſe; which engendreth infinite inconveniences.

Nowe to prove that your Ma.^{tie} ſubiectes wante their moſt deſire, I thinke no man woll denie that golde and ſilver arr the ſweeteſt fruite of all gaine, not for itſelf, but bicauſe the having and uſe thereof bringeth man in maner to everie thinge that he deſireth. And bicauſe there is no one thinge can ſerve him to ſo many purpoſes: therefore of conſequence there is no one thinge that he can ſo much deſire. If

† All men ſeek good, gain is uſeful, and what is uſeful is good, therefore all men ſeek gain, and the perſuit of it is natural and laudable.

If than your subiectes wante both golde and sylver, howe can their desire be quiett? Perhappes it shalbe answered, they wante no mooney, they have sylver in a kinde, yea and golde to, though they shewe it not.

To that I replie. First for their money they esteeme it so litle, that they woll emploie it to great disadvauntaige rather than keepe it: which breedeth multitude of bargaines and utter empoverishment of the needie.

And for sylver they have it in dede in such a kinde as they neither esteeme it for sylver, nor can without great losse use it for sylver.

As for golde, if there be any quantitie remaigneng (as somme men thinke but small) it can not comme to light, bicause that like as the value of our money doth daylie decaie, so doth the golde encrease to such value, that lieng still it amounteth above the revenewes of any lande. And he that shall lyve xii moonethes shall see that an old Aungell shall in value and estimation wante litle of xxs of our currant mooney, if provision be not had the rather.

Thus

Thus in myne opinion it appeareth that the peoples chiefest desire shall kende (if it be not † whoate already) and at leingth must nedes burne, for most commonly they seele and smarte or they undrestande.

And the more plage it is a great denie, by reason that, not the meane people only, but the myddle sorte and the greatest do suffer for this, eche man in his kinde.

Conclude than that of extreame necessitie this coyne must be reformed and that without delaye.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} most bounden Serv^t.

William Thomas

Pleaseth your Highnes, as I saied at the first, though I do studie these discourses and am right glad to write the best opinions that I can gather, yet I meened not to be such a director as were not glad himself to learne. Neither do I trust myne authoures so much, as not to mistrust contrarie successes both to their rules and to their examples. Nevertheless syns, that providence which man may attaigne in thinges is had by studie of rules and examples (for
he

he bieth it deere that hath it only by experience) most happie is he in all regimentes that knoweth most argumentes to chooſe the beſt in doubtfull caces, wherefore I ſhall moſt humbly beſeche your highnes to take my ſtudie as a pike or a quarell to a deeper matter, and with my good will ſo to ſupplie my lacke that though I appeare ſometime either too vehement or too much aſſured, yet that I be not therefore condemned ſyns it is not I, but the matter as I take it. And wheare in dede I was ſomewhat earneſt for the reformation of the coyne wherein it pleaſed your Ma^{tie} to commaunde myne opinion, trulie my Zeale to my cuntry did ſo pricke me that I could not forbear to exclaime againſt the fault, liek as for the redreſſe. I am not yet diſſuaded from my deviſe, ffor though I underſtande there be other argumentes, perchaunce better than myne, yet I lyke not his opinion that in this cace groundeth himſelf of, || *Malè benè conditum ne moveas*, ffor male it is in dede, but conditum it is not, and bene it woll never be, Wherefore neceſſe eſt moveri. And this I darr ſtande to in argument, that wheare I deviſed an ex-
action

|| Do not meddle with an error that is well eſtabliſhed.

action of xiiid in the pounce, if the mooney thus contynewe, your Matie by reason of the myntes shall exacte above vi of the pounce, and yet be undoon yourself at leingth, onlesse ye purchase lande withall.

And wheather it hath made your Matie riche or no I can not tell, but I am sure this coynaige syns the first beginneng hath exacted upon your subiectes alreadye above viii in the pounce. As for their frivole reasons that alledge iii partes of the iiii, through the realme to fare the better by it, I woll not saie that either they undrestande litle of policie or elles they wolde be glad to become commoners themselves, but this I darr avowe there is not one of an hundreth, no not one of an C, M that is contented with this coyne.

* Helas can we suffer neither faulte nor remeadie, neither warre nor peace?

Your Maties most humble servaunt.

William Thomas

* Alas.

MY PRIVATE OPINION TOOCH-
ING YOUR MAT^{ies} OUTWARDE
AFFAIRES AT THIS PRESENT.

N

MY PRIVATE OPINION TOUGH-
ING YOUR MIND OUTWARDLY
APPEARS AT THIS PRESENT.

MY PRIVATE OPINION TOOCHING
YOUR MAT^{ties} OUTWARDE AF-
FAIRES AT THIS PRESENT.

WHAT cace your Ma^{ties} astate is in,
I doubt not but yourself doth un-
drestande, and though I knowe there be a
nombre about your highnes hable both to
care for the remedie of that that is amyffe,
and also to prevent the ymmynent perilles
necessarie to be forseene; yet bicause me
seemeth somme dull effectes prove in thinges
that ought to have greater lief, therfore
having discoursed sommewhat on tyme, my
bounden conscience provoketh me to utter
myne opinion in presente thinges. Which
I most humbly besече your Ma^{ties} to ac-
cepte as offered not of any purpose either
to preferre myne invencions before the do-
inges of wiser men, or to accuse any for
neglecting their duties in these caces: but
only of the earnest affection I have both
unto our common wealthe, and also unto

your highnes on whom our wealthe dependeth.

Tyme was in the daies of your father of famousse memorie, that this astate being dradde of all our neighbours needed not to esteeme any of them more than itself was esteemed. But nowe the cace is so altered that bicause we arr both hated and contemptned of them all, we for lack of our owne estimation must either esteeme them and redeeme our estimation or elles pearishe.

And bicause there be infinite reasons that thretten us with warre almost on everie hande: therefore it is to be forseene (as I have written in the discourse of Princes amitie) that we fall not into such a warre; as either we must be a praie to thenemie, or elles throwe ourselves into the lappe of a deere purchased frende: thone and other being equallie preiudiciall unto us. For the remedie whereof one of twoo thinges must be wonne, either frendeship to helpe us, or tyme to make ourselves stronge.

As

As for frendeship I see not which waie any is to be gotten, without either our extreame disadvauntaige, or the denyeng of our faith: neither of which is tollerable. And as I believe it is impossible we shulde have any perfect amitie with any foreyn Prince that dissenteth from us in Religion, so bicause we have no neighbour of uniforme religion, I determyne we can finde no frende; whose amitie is to be trusted. Wherefore we must of force tourne us unto tyme to see howe much we may wyne thereof: and what we may wyne withall. And bicause neither is our force so ordred, that we may trust thereby to wyne our tyme nor our treasure such as may purchase it: therefore our extreamest shifte is to worke by policie.

We have twoo puissaunt Princes to deale withall. The frenche King a doubtfull frende, and Themp' a dissembling foo. The one hath doon us already displeaser: and the other we arr sure wold do it if he can. For what quarell hath he to the Germaynes but Religion? Wherein he hath

sworne rather to spende his lief than not to reduce it to his owne maner. And whan he shall have overcommen those fewe that rest (which arr of small accompte in respect of his power) wheare shall he ende his furie but against us?

I wote well, somme arr of opinion that Maydelburgh with the confederate Cities shall keepe him occupied awhile. Somme other adde that the Germaines arr not yet wonne to the papisticall secte, and somme other reaken upon the Turkes commyng into Hungarie: All which (saie they) arr impedimentes sufficient to occupie Themp^o mynde from medling with us. I like those reasons well: beseching God they may prove as trewe as they be spoaken; but I am perswaded by argumentes of greater efficacie that Themp^o esteemeth this matter of Maydelburgh verie litle; and much lesse the Germaine protestauntes, and least of all the Turke: the reasons whereof arr to longe nowe to discourse: So that I feare me he shall have sooner brought his purposes those waies to passe, than we shalbe well advertised of it. Wherefore
(thinke

(thinke I) we have great cause to mistrust both his practises and himself.

On the other side the Frenche King is alreadie in possession of Scotlande and practiseth in Irelande amongst a people that loveth libertie : and that for everie small hope of gayne wolbe readie to revolte : Wherein if he shulde prevaile we might reaken ourselves besieged. So that the one and other rekened we arr not only habandoned of all freendes that may stande us in steade : but in maner environned of enemies.

Thus I have cast the perill of the worste, to thentent the worste shulde be provided for : the best woll helpe itself.

And bicause the tyme doth yet serve us to practise, having no enemye that hitherto hath taken the swearde in hande, therefore as we may nowe common to put them in hope of thinges that we meane not, and thereby wyne tyme both to provide us of mooney and to ordre our men. So whan tyme shall drawe either of their swerdes and we unprovided (as puttly we arr) than must we either pearishe, or be a praie to

thone of them : or at the best receave intollerable condicions. For (saie what men woll) our power without somme frendeship is of small substaunce : Yea though we were all as good subiectes as Edward the thirde had ; whereas nowe I feare me there be aswell holowe as hole hertes to be founde.

And albeit that our quarell is in God, and God our quarell, who never fayleth them that trust in him yet forasmuch as wickednesse raigneth in the midst of us, liek as we shulde not mistrust the goodnesse of God, so ought we neither to neglect that policie that may helpe us : to advoide the like captivitie that for wickednesse happened to thelect people of Israell.

And this is my devise.

Your Matie shall either write or sende somme trustie mann with creadite to Thempo^r declaring unto him (as he knoweth already) in what sorte the Frenche King hath obteigned Scotlande, and howe he practiseth in Irelande, purposeng in your tender yeres to oppresse your Realme and subiectes.

And

And albeit that ye mistrust not Thempore^{re} perfect and sincere amitie, yet to thende you wolde ioigne in a straighter maner, ye wolde gladly knowe what his Matie wolde require of you, on covenant that if the Frenche King shulde nowe breake with your highnes ye might be sure he shulde also breake with Fraunce on his parte : and generally be freendes to freendes and enemies to enemies.

No doubt he wolde herken to such a messaige, and with the first wolde demaunde alteration of Religion, which I thinke shulde be the principall point of the treatie for his parte.

Wherefore as the tyme served, I wolde wishe the communycacion thereof not to be refused : and the matter to be dissembled with such practises of delaies as may best serve to the wynneng of tyme whereof your Matie shall gather twoo commodities.

One that by keeping Thempo^r in hope of alteration he may happen to cease from working of that mischief towards you and your Realme, that the meane tyme he wolde surely go about.

And

And the other the Frenche King may have cause so to doubt this leage that I believe he shall not offer to disturbe you: Which in dede were a great matter. By meane whereof your Matie shulde not only gett tyme more and more to establishe Religion within your Realme: but also to putt your subiectes in a readinesse, and to provide you of mooney against the tyme of hostilitie. And if the tyme may so longe be wonne that Thempor die (whose lief can not longe endure) your Matie shall not only be free of this practise, but also free of Fraunce who surely shall have enough to do that waie.

As for the Frenche King: we have peace with him and no cause of breache, but if he pyke a quarell to breake: his hope of gayne shall be so great that I see no reasonable overture of our parte sufficient to appease him. And than it is necessarie to thretten, that ye wolde rather yelde in condiciones to Thempo^r than endure so uniuert a warre as he for greedinesse shall beginne. And if the doubt of that agreement stoppe him not: I can not devise what shulde staie him, but our owne weapon.

For

For Scotlande I have no hope of good but one. That the Governour by our compforth may be entysed to take the crowne upon him. If by us he may be thereunto perswaded: we shall not only establishe a puissaunt frende to ourselfes but also a perpetuall enemy to Fraunce. The compassing whereof had neede to be handled both verie secretly and prudently.

For Irelande if there be iust cause of suspicion that any of those Lordes shulde revolte: Lett somme meane be devised to call them or the chiefe of them hither as shortly as may be, and here lett them be well entretained till the next Sommer be spent, in which tyme their trouthe shalbe tried, and besides that their entretaynement may alter their malice, if there be any: or at the least establishe their alleageaunce.

For Denmarke. Albeit the King is of our Religion and the cuntrey both, yet they were never our frendes, and onlesse we were more hable with money to hyre them than Thempo' or Frenche King arr: lett us never hope good of them. For naturally they arr given to the gayne and of
all

all spoyle they desire the spoyle of our nation. So that with litle mooney they may be hired against us, wheare a great deale of our mooney shall skarsely cause them to fytt still.

Neverthelesse I thinke it were not amyffe to practise with them : aslonge as it torne not to our disadvauntaige.

Obiectiones that may be argewed to the contrarie.

To my devise of practise with Thempo^r I may be answered that it is daungerouse for III causes.

One that the knowledge of this practise shall encourage the papistes of this Realme to be the more obstinate.

An other that if it be knowen to Maydelburgh and the other powers that presently defende our Religion it shalbe both a discouraige to them, and a sklaunder to us.

And thirdely that whan Thempo^r shall perceave our dalyaunce with him, it shall sett him all on fyre wheare nowe he is but warme.

To the first I replie that if we quayled in our proceedinges at home the papistes might

might take couraige: but folowing earnestly as we have begonne, lett them hope what they woll; thende shall chaunge their myndes; and the meane while they shall neither do nor talke.

And to the seconde, though we wolde we arr not hable to aide Maydelburgh and their felowes aswell for the distaunce as for our owne necessitie: having enough to do to save ourselfes. So that they can take no discouraige wheare they can hope no succour. And for sklauder it can be none; onelesse the sklauderouse effect folowe: which shalbe no parte of our meaning. And if we esteeme the worldlie fame, at the worste the greater nombre (I mean the papistes) shall praise us for the tyme.

To the thirde poinct Thempo' is alreadie so warme that if his fyre might kendle us we shulde all burne. And looke for none other, but whan so ever his tyme serveth, he woll make us smoake in dede. Wherefore if any thinge be to be wonne of him, it is only tyme: which shalbe yll handled if it be not drawn one xii or xv moonthes longe. And if we beginne not this practise or Maydelburgh be wonne, Thempo' woll

woll aftrewardes proceade with us by a manner of commaundement rather than by treatie: ffor whan the swearde is shaken over our heades, than shall it be too late for us to talke. At the worst what hurte can we take by this practise? Common as much as they lyst, as longe as they be not hable to compell us: so longe we neede not to yelde in any thinge unto them. And if they may compell than there is no boote. So that whereas good may comme to us of our practise divers waies, I can not see which waie any hurte may growe of it at all.

For Scotlande, it may be saied, what perill were it if the Frenche King [shulde knowe our practise and take displeaser against us? I answere the same perill that he is in with us for practising in Irelande: being such as ye may be sure shalbe no cause of warre. Yea it may happen to sett such a brooyle betwene the governour and him as may bringe them by the eares in dede. And as for the conquest of Scotlande lett us never looke for it. For if we were not hable to conquere it whan we had to do with it alone, much lesse hable arr we
nowe:

nowe: whan we must either conquer Fraunce or forbear Scotlande.

Mary for the Irishe Lordes there is perill unlesse the matter may be so handled that they may comme by waie of entreatie, devised upon persuation of amitie: which if it may be brought to passe shall serve much to the purpose. Otherwise it may be the cause to make them revolte, if they perceave themselves to be suspected.

For the Realme here within foloweth Twoo thinges arr principallie to be applied. The readinesse of men and a masse of mooney.

Preparacion doth not only discouraige thenemye, but also encourage the subiect: who susteigneng a soddayne warre onlooked for waxeth immediately tymerouse: wheare being warned he waxeth hardie.

A people in Illiria, called Acarnaii were thretnd to be destroied by their neighbours the Ætoli, insomuch that desperately they armed from the age of xv to lx, as many as coulde beare armure: swearing never to retourne vainquished, and did not only covenant that if any fledde from
the

the battail they shulde neither have lodging nor vittail with any of their nacion at home: but also praied their neighbours the Epiroti that if they were slayne they wolde burie them all in one place with this Epitaph. †

Hic siti sunt Acarnanes, qui adversus vim atque iniuriam Ætolorum pro patria pugnantes mortem occubuerunt.

By reason of which determinacion the Ætoli for all their puissaunce gave them over and suffred them to lyve in quiett. And so it fareth by them that in like extremities do valiauntely provide for the worste. Wherefore myne opinion is that your Ma^{tie} shulde immediately cause musteres to be taken throughout the Realme to see first what everie mann can make. And lett nothing be undoon that may serve to have men readie in all eventes, though ye shulde never neede man. At the worste this one profit shall growe of it: that those
subiectes

† Here lay the Acarnanes, who fell while defending their country, against the power and injustice of the Ætoli.

subiectes which have their heades occupied with civile commociones, mistrusting somme outwarde warre shall the lesse thinke on the mischiefes at home, and the outwarde enemie shall have lesse minde to offende, wheare he seeth preparacion of defence.

On the other side lett no waie be omitted that may bringe in mooney to make such a masse as may serve the neede, and whan ye have it spende no peny of that proportion what so ever shift be made for your ordinarie chardges. This doon I thinke your enemies shall either suffre your Maiestie in peace, or at the worste have small advauntaige of you in warre.

Now I have said my foolishe opinion toochyng y^r highnes exteriour affaires, I shall est soones most humblie beseche y^r Matie if I have spoken any thinge imprudently to take my symple meanyng in good parte. For as my desire is to advaunce y^r highnes affaires if it laie in my power, so if of my devise any contrarie successe shulde

O

happen

happen my meaning shall deserve no
blame.

There be things also in the present ci-
vile governaunce that in myne opinion
might be amended, wherein if y^r Maiefty
commaunde me I shall gladly utter what I
thinks.

F I N I S.



BOOKS Printed for J. ALMON, in
PICCADILLY.

LIFE of Cardinal Reginald Pole. By Mr. Philipps, of Oxford. A new edition, in 2 vols. 8vo. 10s. bound.

The Security of Englishmens Lives; or the Duty, Trust, and Power of the Grand Juries of England explained. By Lord Somers, 1s. 6d.

The History, Debates, and Proceedings of the British House of Commons, from 1742 to 1772. Containing the most remarkable Motions, Speeches, Orders, and Resolutions, during that period. By the editors of the former parliamentary histories and debates. In 9 vol. 8vo. price 2l. 7s. in boards, and 2l. 14s. bound.

The four last volumes, from 1761 to 1772, may be had separately to complete sets, one guinea in boards.

A Collection of the Lords Protests, from the first upon record, in the reign of Henry III. to 1772, 2 vols. 8vo. 13s. 6d. bound.

Debates in the House of Commons of Ireland, during the years 1763 and 1764. By Sir James Caldwell, Bart. Dedicated, by permission, to the Earl of Chatham. In 2 vols. 8vo. Price 12s. bound.

The Protests of the Lords of Ireland, from the first upon record there to 1771, octavo, 2s. 6d. sewed.

The above Parliamentary Books, neatly bound, uniform, and lettered, in 14 vols. 4l. 3s.

Letters concerning the present State of England; particularly respecting the politics, arts, manners, and literature of the times, 5s. in boards.

A Collection of all the Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, between Great Britain and other Powers, from the Revolution to the present time, in 2 vols. 8vo. 12s. bound.

An Essay on the Theory of Money, 2s. 6d.

A new System of Military Discipline, founded upon Principle. By a General Officer. 4to. 10s. 6d.

The New Foundling Hospital for Wit. Containing a great number of humorous and satirical pieces, in no other collection. By Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the Lords Chesterfield, Delawarr, Hardwicke, Carlisle, Lyttelton, Harvey, Capel, Lady M. W. Montague, T. Potter, Charles Townshend, J. S. Hall.

John

John Wilkes, David Garrick, B. Thornton, R. Lloyd, &c. &c. in 6 vols. each adorned with a curious frontispiece, 15s. sewed, or 18s. bound.

A Companion for a Leisure Hour : being a collection of fugitive pieces in prose and verse, chiefly serious ; in no other collection. By several gentlemen. Printed in the same size and manner as the New Foundling Hospital for Wit, and embellished with a suitable frontispiece, 2s. 6d. sewed, or 3s. bound.

Collins's Peerage of England. A new Edition, with many valuable additions, 7 vols. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. bound.

The Peerage of the kingdom of Ireland, upon the same plan with that of Scotland, and the arms executed in the most masterly manner, 2 vols. 8vo. 12s. bound.

A new Baronetage of England ; or, a genealogical and historical account of the present English Baronets, with all their arms engraved and blazoned. To which is added, a compleat list of all the persons advanced to this dignity, from the institution of it to the present time, with the dates of their respective patents, in 3 vols. 10s. 6d. bound.

An Extinct Peerage of England ; containing an account of all those noble families whose titles are extinct ; from the earliest accounts to the present time, in 1 vol. 3s. 6d. bound.

The Pocket-Herald ; or a compleat view of the present Peerage of the three kingdoms ; giving an accurate account of their births, marriages, and issue ; their several employments, titles, creations, and residences ; including all the late alterations and additions, to the present time. Adorned with the arms, supporters, crests, and mottoes, of all the Peers, (together with all the Bishops and Peereffes) of England, Scotland, and Ireland, engraved and blazoned, in two neat pocket-volumes, 7s. bound.

¶ The Pocket-Herald is the cheapest complete Peerage ever printed in this kingdom.

††† The above three books being printed in an uniform size and manner, the whole 6 vols. may be had, neatly bound, 1l. 1s.

The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered. By Joshua Gee. A new edition. To which are now added several notes, and an interesting appendix concerning the trade with Portugal, 3s. bound.

